

# Inter-America

## A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY  
NEW YORK

ENGLISH: VOLUME III

OCTOBER, 1919

NUMBER 1



## ANNOUNCEMENT

**T**HE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

INTER-AMERICA thus serves as a vehicle for the international dissemination of articles already circulated in the several countries. It therefore does not publish original articles, nor make editorial comment. It merely translates what has been previously published, without approving or censuring, in order that the reading public of all the American countries may have access to ideas current in each of them.

INTER-AMERICA is established at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of whose objects is to cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.

INTER-AMERICA is edited at 407 West 117th Street, New York City. It is manufactured and distributed by Messrs. Doubleday, Page & Company, of New York City.

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<sup>1</sup> Other distinguished gentlemen have been invited to serve on this committee, but their acceptances have not yet been received.

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English INTER-AMERICA (6 numbers)	\$ .80 per annum
Spanish INTER-AMERICA (6 numbers)	.80 per annum
English and Spanish INTER-AMERICA (12 numbers)	1.50 per annum
Single numbers of either issue	.15 per copy

*All communications should be addressed to*

DIRECTOR OF INTER-AMERICA

407 WEST 117TH STREET

NEW YORK CITY



# AN OPEN LETTER

*to those who have not secured immediate delivery  
of their new 1920 Haynes cars*

By A. G. SIEBERLING, Vice-President and General Manager  
The Haynes Automobile Company, Kokomo, Ind., U. S. A.



It is a matter of great regret to us that thousands of people have been unable to get immediate delivery of the new 1920 Haynes. The fact that we have succeeded in increasing production to the point where we may soon be on a greater delivery basis is encouraging to us. But we feel that an explanation is due all of the good friends of the Haynes who have waited so patiently and so expectantly for their cars.

During the war our plant was converted into one to serve the government. Our engineers and designers went ahead with their work and produced the new 1920 Haynes. Its tremendous appeal at the opening of the year is a matter of history, and orders continued to come from all parts of this country as well as from abroad.

Our dealers have done their best to take care of their patrons. We realize however, that even when the situation was understood everyone who ordered a new Haynes was more and more anxious to receive it.

We could not "rush" production. Even had it been mechanically possible there remained the fact that no Haynes is allowed to leave our plant until it has satisfied the rigid inspection tests of our engineers and designers.

Each Haynes car must exemplify the four essential factors of character—beauty, strength, power and comfort—before it can go to its future owner. This extra care on our part is a tangible benefit to the owner, but we know how anybody feels about it when he has ordered a fine new car and cannot get it.

But the orders continue to come in. The new 1920 Haynes is actually an advance model. It is what, in ordinary times, would have been expected of this organization next January. Naturally, every time one is driven from a Haynes dealer's establishment it awakens in the mind of every be-

holder the desire to own one. Thus the orders show no indication of abatement.

We are doubling the capacity of our plant; we have increased our production. Those who have waited have profited, because they are getting Haynes cars which are wonderfully improved.

The new 1920 Haynes, therefore, is a car worth waiting a little while for. Whether it is the seven-passenger touring car, the four-door, four-passenger roadster, the seven-passenger limousine, the seven-passenger sedan or the four-passenger coupé we know that it comes fully up to the Haynes standard of a car of character.

Our earnest recommendation is that you place your reservation with your Haynes dealer now. You may have to wait a short time before receiving your car, but the value of your investment will more than offset the slight delay.

We have promised your dealer to do our best to fill his orders with the least possible loss of time, and that every car we send him shall measure fully up to the standards created and perfected by the Haynes organization in all the twenty-six years since Elwood Haynes thrilled this country with his invention—America's First Car.

*A. G. Sieberling*

The Haynes, AMERICA'S FIRST CAR, now exhibited by the government at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., was invented, designed and built by Elwood Haynes, in 1893.

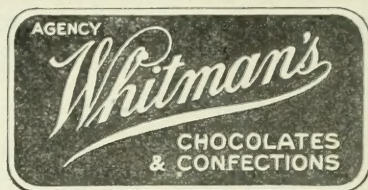


1893 — THE HAYNES IS AMERICA'S FIRST CAR — 1919





*Back of  
the Sign*



*you'll find  
the Sampler*



The stores that sell Whitman's are selected on the basis of good service and reliability. We purposely restrict our distribution, but we aim to have one Whitman agent convenient to everybody. Whitman's are sold in every State, and in almost every town and village. Every agent guarantees every package of Whitman's that he sells and our guarantee of satisfaction also covers every sale. You're safe in saying, "A Sampler, Please."

STEPHEN F. WHITMAN & SON, Inc., Philadelphia, U. S. A.



# Significant Facts

*about*

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They have much the largest output in the high-grade truck field.

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They were adopted as the standard Class A Truck in the United States Army.

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They have the most extensive mileage records—exceeding 100,000, 200,000 and 300,000 miles.

They have the lowest cost of operation and the highest percentage of days in active service, as far as shown in any comparative records known to this company.



THE WHITE COMPANY  
CLEVELAND



# It's Another FEDERAL



**H**IGH up in the jagged wastes of the Southern Rockies, this three year old Federal truck is magnificently upholding Federal traditions.

*Reproduced by  
courtesy of the  
Goodyear Tire &  
Rubber Co., who  
first featured  
this 2-ton Fed-  
eral in adver-  
tisements run in  
several nation-  
ally known  
publications*

Overcoming the most formidable of Nature's handicaps to a reliable haulage service, this Federal successfully negotiates the 52 miles between Reno and Gardnerville, Nevada, every day in the week. A daily round trip of 104 miles—which is made in nine hours' time including loading and unloading.

Conditions more gruelling could not be imposed on a motor truck and yet this Federal averages 11 miles per gallon of gasoline, 277 miles per gallon of oil—and after thousands of miles with no trouble, both truck and tires show but little evidence of their severe usage.

Due to their balanced weight, motor efficiency and rugged chassis construction, Federals have again and again demonstrated their ability to handle the seemingly impossible tasks of haulage—at an economy of operating expense which is characteristic of Federal operation under all conditions of road and load.

FEDERAL MOTOR TRUCK COMPANY  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

This is an actual photograph showing Rocky Mountain, a motor truck company equipped with Goodyear Tires, which is owned by the Gardnerville Freight

Photo 1919, by The Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

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AKRON



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# BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

CLEMENTI ONELLI is the director of the Jardín Zoológico of Buenos Aires, and a great lover, comprehender and interpreter of animals. His studies have not been limited to animals in captivity, however; he has traveled much through South America, and particularly in Argentina, and he has made considerable contributions to the knowledge of zoölogy and in colonial antiquities. He is the author of many monographs upon scientific subjects, to which he imparts his peculiar spirit, essentially poetic.

JOSÉ DE ARMAS is a Spanish-American journalist, now resident in Spain, and a correspondent of *The Times*, of London, England.

MARIO GUIRAL MORENO was born in Habana, Cuba, January 26, 1882; he was graduated as an electrical engineer, in 1906, and as a civil engineer, in 1908, from the University of Habana; he is the head of the department of mines of the Secretaría de Agricultura, Comercio y Trabajo; he is a member of the local committee on terminology of highways attached to the Permanent

International Commission of the Congresses upon Highways; he was the founding editor of the magazine *Cuba Contemporánea*, and the treasurer of the Sociedad Editorial de Cuba Contemporánea, owner of that magazine; a member of several learned societies and societies for the promotion of the arts; the author of *Diccionario tecnológico del constructor*; *Historia de la arquitectura*; and of numerous pamphlets.

JOSÉ ANTONIO CAMPOS, of whom we have already published three sketches, is an Ecuadorian journalist, man of letters and humorist, who has written much under the pseudonym of *Jack the Ripper*; he is the director of the official newspaper *El Telégrafo*, of Guayaquil; his books, *Rayos catódicos y fuegos fatuos* (two volumes) and *Cintas alegres*, are unique among South American literature.

RUFINO BLANCO-FOMBONA is the director of the publishing house, Editorial-América, of Madrid, Spain: for full biographical data regarding him, see INTER-AMERICA for June, 1919, page 262, Biographical Data.





# AN INTERVIEW WITH DOCTOR BRUM

## THE PRESIDENT OF URUGUAY

BY

A CORRESPONDENT

The genial frankness of the recently inaugurated president of Uruguay is revealed here. The author of the interview was fortunate enough not only to obtain an expression of opinion on a number of subjects, but, what is of more interest and significance, upon those of fundamental importance, and such as reveal the character of Uruguay's new executive. Doctor Brum made a tour of the South American and North American continents as a preparation for the intelligent discharge of his duties, and he alludes frequently to the informative character of his visits to the several republics. Might not other presidents-elect profit by his example in this respect?—THE EDITOR.

A FEW days ago, in compliance with an order from *Myriam's* staff I interviewed Doctor Baltasar Brum. As the conversation I had with the president of the sister republic seemed to be of interest, I proceed to transcribe it.

"What do you wish to know?" President Brum said to me, with his eternal smile of benevolence and whole-hearted spontaneity, as he extended a friendly hand.

"I desire of you an outline of your program of government."

"It is very simple. I shall try, with all my might, to consolidate and improve, if possible, our high international position. I must bring our country into closer and closer relations with all nations, and I must uphold the fraternal principle of Pan Americanism, which constitutes at present the fundamental basis of our international policy. I shall devote myself especially to the military organization of the country until I make the army a technical organism that will be able to discharge the lofty mission with which the patria honors it; and I shall concern myself with the selection of the personnel of the police and I shall see that it shall properly fulfil its duties."

"That is a great deal, but it is not all. Will you permit me to put a series of questions?"

"All that you may desire."

"Admirable. What do you think of the red unification?"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The two dominant political parties of Uruguay are the reds (*colorados*) and the whites (*blancos*).—THE EDITOR.

"By temperament and conviction, I think the moment has arrived in which the grievances that have divided and have kept our political collectivity apart ought to disappear. To this end, it is necessary that all—we ourselves in particular—should put aside all rancor, join forces and become factors for harmony and unification."

"Very well, doctor; I did not hope for such concrete expressions on your part. Now tell me, if you please, what is your opinion of the new constitutional régime?"

"As a result of my collegial<sup>2</sup> ideals and convinced that a grave error has been committed in placing in the hands of the president so great a sum of powers, I shall never stand in the way of the introduction of a constitutional reform that shall diminish that excessive authority, or of the suppression of the presidency of the republic and the establishment of a collegium in its most ample form. To this intent, I promise upon my honor, before my party and before my country, that, at any moment whatsoever in which the will of the latter shall be to abolish the presidency of the republic, I shall retire from it, in order that the collegium may be introduced in a broad sense."

"You have been accused, doctor, of being an enemy of the country people. What do you say regarding this report?"

"That this assertion is incorrect. The natural tendency of my mind and a deep conviction of the fundamental importance which the agricultural industries exert

<sup>2</sup>An allusion to the collegium, an Uruguayan idea, not unlike our government by commission.—THE EDITOR.



upon the destiny of nations, have awakened in me a particular interest in rural subjects, which constitute the familiar subject of my private life, and have received the chief attention of my public life.

"It has been especially pleasant to me to attend a number of rural congresses, and this has enabled me to be in my favorite surroundings, sharing the same memories and the same desire for improvement as the rural environment, to which I am attached, not only by a patriotic aspiration for the greatness of the republic, but also by my private interests, because the progress of our farming lands bears directly upon the economic welfare of my home.

"The work of these congresses ought to receive and it has always received the kindly consideration of the public authorities, since it serves as a genuine expression of the desires of all the rural forces. In them, indeed, all are represented, from the powerful *estanciero*<sup>3</sup> to the modest farmer, and all work together there for the betterment of the moral and material conditions of our plains, whose splendor can not be attained except through the effort of all. All, both the powerful and humble, in the same rank and with fundamental importance, are factors in the national progress, which is the sum of all the productive individual activities.

"I, for my part, have always been in profound sympathy with rural enterprises, and I have followed with great interest those meritorious labors, studying with the greatest care whatever has to do with them. In every public position I have occupied, I have set on foot measures that testify to my interest in the plains and in the prosperity of the villages and cities of the interior, always counting not only upon the good will, but also upon the stimulus of the initiative of the señor Batlle,<sup>4</sup> first, and of Doctor Viera<sup>5</sup> afterward, whose governments, inspired with the laudable purpose of contributing to the public good, attached

special importance to questions relating to stock-raising and agriculture and to all that pertains to departmental progress.

"If I have been hitherto an enthusiastic friend of this work, I am sure I shall continue to be so as the first magistrate of the country."

"In spite of all this it is attributed to you that you have been in favor of placing new burdens upon rural property, and among them a tax upon absenteeism."

"Regarding this subject, I must excuse myself from expressing an opinion. I refer you to an article published by *La Razón* of Buenos Aires, on December 4 of last year, in which we are informed that the Federación Universitaria Argentina addressed a note to the dean of the Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Doctor Eleodoro Lobos, requesting that there be included among the university themes for investigation that of 'taxation upon absenteeism,' in order that it might be studied in the light of the experience of other countries and from the point of view of the terms and forms of a possible adaptation to Argentina. In that note the example of Uruguay is cited."

"We consider, doctor, that that idea constitutes another of your good enterprises. What do you think about municipal autonomy?"

"I have always thought administrative decentralization a manifest requirement for regional development. When I lived in El Salto, while I formed a part of the deliberative body of that municipality and had a share in the productive activities of the city, I learned to appreciate to the full what an obstacle to the development of the local forces is involved in the centralist legislation of the present constitution. When circumstances demanded that I should take part in the convention for constitutional reform, I had the immense satisfaction of contributing—always bearing in mind the teachings gathered there—to the principle that local autonomy ought to be incorporated definitively in our political code."

"What are your plans, in general, as you assume the presidency?"

"You know that by the new fundamental charter, the organization of the execu-

<sup>3</sup>The owner of an *estancia*, the South American word for *hacienda*, or large estate, with its equipment of buildings, etc.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>4</sup>José Batlle y Ordóñez, a leading Uruguayan statesman: see INTER-AMERICA for August, 1918, page 384, for an article upon him.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>5</sup>Doctor Brum's predecessor as president of Uruguay.—THE EDITOR.



tive powers leaves to the president of the republic the direction of the military forces and the conduct of foreign relations. Regarding the former, I assure you that the forces will always be at the service of order and respect for all liberties, whomsoever they may uphold.

"In regard to foreign relations, my principles are all well known, since from my position in the government, in such speeches as I have made, I have favored a definite strengthening of American confraternity."

"This year elections will be held for the council of administration and the president of the republic; there will be a complete renewal of the chamber of deputies, local councils, electoral boards, etc.: do you not think that this series of electionary acts may be harmful?"

"I am a decided partisan of the political activity of the country, and I do not fear the frequent electoral furor and struggles, and I can assert rather that I consider it a great benefit to democracy that people should continually exercise their rights, until the political function shall end by becoming a normal electoral act of the civic life."

"Do you not think this intense political activity may affect other realms—the economic activities—for example?"

"No, señor. In an essentially political regimen, not only is an interest in subjects of an economic nature proper, but it may find there an even more favorable field."

"What practical effects have been produced in the country by the legislative innovations, both political and social?"

"Almost all the innovations have been persistently opposed at the beginning, but once inaugurated, experience has demonstrated that the existing fears were unfounded, and I can almost assure you that the very opposers of them accept them to-day as good at bottom, although they have not gone so far as to acknowledge it publicly."

"What can you say to me regarding the social question? What about the struggles between capital and labor?"

"That only by an inconceivable aberration may it be considered that there is any incompatibility between the working and

the capitalistic classes, when a little good will on the part of the former and of little goodness of heart on the part of the latter would be sufficient to establish the desired harmony. We owe to the laborers not only the support of slightly protective laws, but we ought to raise them with all our strength from the inferior economic and intellectual position in which an age-long evil organization has kept them subject. It is not sufficient to concern ourselves superficially with bettering that position; it is necessary that we eliminate with persistence and enthusiasm that absurdity which permits laborers to devote their whole life to the hardships of toil for the purpose of securing merely what is necessary to keep them from dying of hunger. A principle of solidarity, of humanity, of defense of the species, compels us to change fundamentally this hateful tyranny of a suicidal selfishness."

"Regarding the vindication of woman, what can you say to me?"

"The French revolution, which proclaimed the rights of man, could not do much in favor of the equality of the sexes, even if it was in the illustrious thought of those who achieved it. Whether because of egoism, routine or survivals of prejudices that were able to escape that liberative hurricane, the legislation that persisted through the work of reformation, and whose tracks nearly all the legislators followed, left woman in an irritating inferiority to man, not only in respect of political rights, but also in respect of civil rights, the organization of the family, penal law, etc., and it causes genuine surprise that such injustices could have been committed and could persist. Happily in our country—and I mention it with true pride—public men have already interested themselves, without waiting for feminine solicitations, in remedying this situation, and it is to be hoped, upon well founded ground, that within a short time those absurd inequalities will have disappeared from the codes, thus reinstating woman in the fullness of her rights."

"What have you to say, doctor, about the so-called imperialistic spirit of the United States of North America?"

"It is possible there may have existed



in her history errors of procedure and acts that might have attacked the respectable interests and sentiments of others, but I affirm decidedly that to-day and in the future only cordiality and a great desire for justice, reciprocal liberty and equality for all reigns in the governing circles of the United States; and I cherish the most absolute conviction that in the field of generous reparations, and of equitable solutions, the United States will dispute with the most just peoples the scepter of equity, thus disarming certain suspicious minds that attribute selfish intentions to her international policy."

"And the impression of your visit to the other countries of America?"

"Already, in my declarations in the United States, I gave utterance to the unequivocal sentiments of ample and respectful confraternity which that great country entertains without distinction for all the peoples of the continent. Well then; in the visits that I have just made to Panamá, Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia and Chile, as formerly to Brazil and Cuba, from the much that was significant that I have been able to gather, that same spirit extends everywhere, and the most intense cordiality in a vehement desire to found upon solid and enduring bases the future of the Columbian nations, dominates all the peoples and all the governments of America."

"You became acquainted with President Wilson and you had an opportunity to talk with him? What was your personal impression of him?"

"I do not miss an occasion to express all my admiration for the noble mind that to-day governs the great republic of the north. My personal acquaintance with President Wilson enables me to affirm in an absolute manner that both he and the eminent statesmen who at his side devote all their energies and virtues to the cause of humanity cherish only feelings of high respect and cordial regard for all the countries of South America."

"What do you think of the attacks of which he has been made the object on the part of an Argentine daily?"

"That they do not represent either the opinion of the people or government of

Argentina. It is proper to bear in mind that Doctor Zeballos, possibly the author of those attacks, has imparted to his conduct a marked tendency to a neutrality favorable to the German government, as well as a frank hostility toward our country. Neither the Argentine government nor the Argentine people shares in this attitude with respect to the international policy of Europe. A proof of this has been given by the people, the parliament, the press and the larger part of the great Argentine thinkers, who were with the allies.

"As to the chief purpose of my tour, to attribute it to the selfish motive of provoking the formation in America of circles, some in opposition to others: this can only be done by one who has not read the addresses I delivered in North America, as well as in the Latin-American countries, in which I always maintained the necessity of a union of all the peoples of America. I have combated the formation of antagonistic groups, and I have upheld the wisdom of exhausting every possible friendly means to the end that the peace of America may not be disturbed, as well as the utility of preventing all commercial rivalry by establishing special tariffs in favor of the American countries. In an interview which I had in the United States with the editor of the *Evening Standard*, I said to him:

As an example of great value, I shall cite a case that bears upon the relations between my country and Argentina. On a certain occasion there was reason to fear the Germans would attack Uruguay. Under the circumstances, we asked the Argentine government if it would permit us to buy arms and provisions in its country in case of war. President Irigoyen answered that he would not only permit us to buy war material, but also that he would extend aid to Uruguay if we were attacked. This act is a new confirmation of the great solidarity which, in general, prevails among the countries of South America.

"Do you think your trip through America was profitable?"

"Yes, señor, I do. It was even more; I cherish the conviction that in consequence of it the commercial relations of the various countries of America with Uruguay will be strengthened; and another no less appreciable result of my journey has been that



of forming on my part a more correct idea of the American nations and of their progress, and also that of knowing their chief public men, which facilitates, as is natural, the strengthening of international relations."

"What do you think, doctor, regarding arms and armaments in America and regarding the institution of a tribunal of international justice?"

"I think that until now the military organization of the nations of America has been in harmony with the idea of a defensive preparation. Well, since our armies are only guardians of the rights and the liberties of our political individuality, let us form with them a higher institution by organizing them to defend the rights and liberties of all and each one of the peoples, in order to uphold the decisions of the Tribunal of America, to which we should confide the oversight of our international life. Thither we should go to adjust our questions in a lofty and serene environment; there we should solve our conflicts in peace and with honor. Why must this be an ideal difficult to realize, while no one will think of arbitrarily imposing his law? Why must it be so, while it be held as a substantial truth that all sovereignties, great and small, are upon the same plane in the universal concert? Why must it be so, while it be admitted that all have a right to the same consideration in their territorial and political integrity? Why must it be so in our America, where there does not exist an atmosphere of imperialism and oppression?"

"There has been attributed to you, doctor, I know not with what foundation, a design of governing without granting admission to the new elements of your party, to-day out of power."

"Regarding this, I have made categorical declarations that are to be found in the political memorandum published by the señor Antonio Bachini. I said then:

Those who suppose me to be dominated by the egotisms of clique and disposed to act according to the intimate counsel of companionship and friendship, are mistaken. Fortunately my circle of young men is characterized by its intelligence, and they know that my first requirement as a ruler must be liberty of action.

I do not find myself hedged about by prejudices, in any sense whatsoever. The country has already achieved a progressive and humane legislation that permits us to occupy ourselves with other and vital problems, with the assurance of having duly attended to the higher demands of the social order."

"What can you tell me, doctor, regarding the satisfactions or the vexations that spring from being in power?"

"The life of a public man, however productive it may be in behalf of his country, is always full of cruel disillusionments and vexations. It is not sufficient for him that his general conduct be good, his thought be upright, his desires patriotic and his activity untiring, to merit always the serene and just judgment of his contemporaries. The failure to comprehend new ideas and situations, often confused, frequently detracts from his beneficent efforts, even when his work is not disfigured by self-interest or partisan passion. Hence the life of the honorable public man is not a sinecure, but, on the contrary, a life of abnegation and sacrifice."

"What value do you attach to immediate applause as a stimulus to right doing?"

"If the mind of the ruler, because he places himself outside the reality of democracies, should need the moral satisfaction of immediate applause as an indispensable stimulus to work, he would soon enough, without doubt, have to retire to his house, thoroughly disillusioned, to live for himself alone, in a selfish existence and one unproductive for the patria. This, however, ought not to happen. The mission of the public man is a genuine apostolate; his acts ought to be addressed solely to the discharge of his duty; his energies, to the limit of his powers, ought always to be applied to the work of national aggrandizement, without ever being turned aside or disturbed by the injustice of the mistaken or by human jealousy, envy or malice. He ought to fear only the judgment of posterity, which renders its decisions without hatred or low passions."

"What are your rules of conduct in government?"

"To the ideas already expressed, I have adjusted and I shall adjust my acts, which must always be directed to doing right for



right's sake, and for the greatness and happiness of our country. I feel, with profound joy, that I am not mistaken when I believe, with absolute sincerity, that my course in the government has been a good interpretation of the aspiration and interests of the nation."

"I should like, in conclusion—since you have already been so courteous and kind—to ask you to give me your view of life."

"Nietzsche says: 'My soul is as placid and luminous as the mount in the morn.' I think a state of the mind all light and

all tranquillity is desirable only as a transitory refuge, like the oasis where the traveler stops for a brief while after a long and painful journey. Placidity enervates the mind and lulls the intelligence to sleep. Combat strengthens the mind and quickens the intelligence. Therefore, I prefer struggle to the Nietzschean calm."

With this beautiful thought, I concluded my interesting talk with Doctor Brum, and I submit it to the judgment of the reader, assured that in it he will find many vigorous ideas.





# NOVEL CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF URUGUAY

## EDITORIAL

Uruguay may well be considered the republican social laboratory of America; and, as such, she is rendering an important international service, for which she is admirably fitted by her geographical contour, her topography, her traditions and the character of her people. This brief outline of the new constitution, which became effective on March 1 of the present year, taken with the article which precedes this, is especially illuminating at the present moment.—THE EDITOR.

URUGUAY, the advanced South American republic, whose splendid culture is so grateful a spectacle to all the Spanish-speaking peoples, has just instituted, in her political constitution, reforms so unexpected and radical, that they have occasioned profound wonder everywhere. No one dreamed that a republic of South America would have the audacity to adopt a new political measure without giving heed to the precedents established by the great nations. These great nations are precisely the ones that to-day show most interest in the study of the new machinery of government which, from March 1, began to function in Uruguay. As, perchance, no other news than the homeopathic quantity of the cable has yet reached the other nations, I proceed to give what is indispensable to forming an opinion upon a subject that has awakened so much discussion in the press of Europe and the United States.

In the first place, this new constitution limits the powers of the president of the republic in a manner hitherto unknown in any of the most advanced countries of the world. Another peculiarity of the reform is that it divides the executive power of the republic into two branches, one of which is the president, and the other, the Comisión Nacional de Administración. This commission is composed of nine members, elected by popular suffrage, for a term of six years. A third of the members of the commission is elected for two years, as in the case of the senate of the United States. As in the English system, the minority is assured representation by recourse to the plurality of votes.

According to the old constitution, the president was elected by the congress. According to the new one, he is elected directly by the popular vote.

The faculties of the commission are of an administrative character, especially those that pertain to public instruction, *fomento*,<sup>1</sup> labor, the industries, banking institutions, public health and beneficence. The commission must account to the congress and must prepare and submit the general budget to that body every year.

All the legislative powers remain, as formerly, in the hands of the congress, which will continue to be composed of the two chambers, as in the United States and the other republics.

The congress elects the members of the highest court of justice and approves or rejects all treaties concerted by the executive.

As in England, bills may be presented to either of the chambers by any of the members of the cabinet, who are entitled to participate in the legislative sessions and to take part in the deliberations. By the vote of a third part of each chamber, a member of the cabinet may be summoned to answer the questions that may be put to him.

When the congress is not in session, a permanent committee, composed of two senators and five deputies, elected by their respective chambers, takes the place and represents it in all the affairs which it must ventilate with the executive. This com-

<sup>1</sup>A department of the government charged with fostering material progress and improvements in the industries, commerce, public works, utilities, etc. It exists, besides, in Spain, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Panamá, Perú, Salvador and Venezuela.—THE EDITOR.



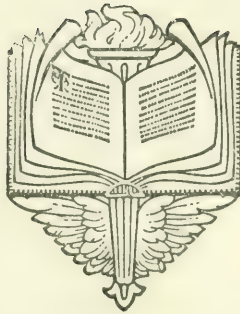
mittee is responsible to the congress, and in case of urgency it may convoke the congress for an ordinary or extraordinary session.

Another of the peculiarities of the new constitution is that, by its article 176, power is conferred upon the congress to interpret and explain the new constitution.

This measure constitutes a new step forward of extraordinary scope. Even in the United States, it has already been pointed out that it would be an advantage to confer upon one of the branches of the government this power of interpretation, which tends to prevent doubts, misunderstandings and litigation of every kind

that arise from a lack of authority to determine in necessary cases the true meaning of a clause of the constitution. In the United States, there exists no organism with the express power to explain the constitution, since all that the supreme court can do is to decide in the course of a suit whether or not any law constitutes a violation of the constitution, which, as may be seen at the first glance, is very different from what has been instituted in Uruguay.

The Uruguayan constitution was approved in November of last year, to take effect after March 1 of the present year. Doctor Baltasar Brum is the president elected to administer under the new plan worked out by this constitution.





# ETCHINGS FROM THE ZOÖLOGICAL GARDEN

BY

CLEMENTE ONELLI

In the zoölogical garden of Buenos Aires, just where the park has its densest growth, is a pleasant nook, withdrawn from the gaze of the world and secluded from the curiosity of visitors. In that spot, which lends itself to retirement from the day's work, stands, hidden among the branches, the dwelling-house of the learned naturalist, Clemente Onelli, the director of the zoölogical garden. Here he works, near his captive lower brothers, producing admirable pages of the psychology of animals, drawn from the abundance of his own observations. Other excellences—even if not those of a scientific order—enhance the value of the admirable quality of his writings: the originality of his but slightly academic prose and the vivacity of his spirituelle and ironical style.

## TWILIGHT IN THE GARDEN

IT IS at the poetic hour of the evening, when the sun is sinking behind the trees, that the animals in general begin to utter their cries and become insensibly subdued as the shadows invade the gardens and the walks. This delicious and sentimental hour is felt even by the hippopotami; for the male—who lazily delays his exit from the tepid bath, amid the lively bubbling of the water, which seems to be set boiling by the breathing of lungs of such dimensions—in his sweetest voice, with his cracked and subdued trumpet, gently calls to the female, who now slowly and heavily enters the sleeping quarters. Afterward appears the enormous head, with protruding and bloodshot eyes, and slowly rises in the penumbra of the waters, livid now, the huge, soft mass that reflects upon its wet viscosities the rays of the distant electric lights of the avenue. Slowly, slowly, into the abode of sleep fades this jealous monster, who mutters amorously and again gives voice to his cracked trumpet, until the damp breath of the female quiets his grumbling by banishing his fear that he had lost his true love.

It is the hour when the gnu capers with his astonishing antics and gleefully utters his abbreviated neigh seven times—a number sacred in oriental myths and in the regions of magic, the land of his origin.

The camels stretch and trot with their disjointed gait and emit a cry that seems a grunt.

The sheep from all the countries of the world, perhaps with the atavic memory of the fold, to which all have been gathered since man has existed, give, at this hour, loud bleats, which are answered in the distance by lambs of other flocks, by kids of other pastures.

The does call to their fawns and the stags, if their antlers have not yet become naked, lift their muzzles with a long breath and sigh deeply at this melancholy hour.

The peacock, perched in a tree, announces with his strident voice that he is now upon the branch where he will pass the night; and from one end of the park to the other all his congeners respond.

Now falls the night, and the white swan, mute during the day, lifts his melancholy voice from an invisible spot.

The black and crested crane from the Balearics, whose silhouette is blurred now beneath the thick foliage, chants also his prolonged, sad lament, which is lost mysteriously in the gathering silence.

The black and the creole swans are sailing softly.

The flamingos, almost motionless during the day, grow lively, begin to fish and give a sweet hiss, like, but duller than, the chirruping of the crickets, which are now mingling their silvery notes with the accented, curious and crystalline tones of the frogs that tune their instruments for the nightly concert.

Still are heard all those sounds of the pleasant nightfall of a bucolic idyl, when, with an energetic note, the infinite sweetness of the surroundings is broken by the



harsh, grave roar of the lion and the hoarse, powerful voice of the lioness, whose echoes, mighty and sonorous, resound through the vast silence; for they, as they descend to their subterranean lairs, implore thus in their own manner the genius of the shadow. It is a reminder of the Roman amphitheater, when the crowded bestiarius gave with its voices a foretaste to the multitudes of the spectacles of the following day. It is the imposing finale of the zoölogical salute to the gathering night.

## PETRONIO

### I

#### THE ILLNESS

Petronio is going. Petronio is dying. His broad, kindly face, wasted by disease, devastated by deep sorrow, is becoming more and more human under the stress of mortal anguish. It is a sad spectacle, one that I have always before my view and that gnaws at my consciousness; and if I only could, I should go to set him free among the flowery orange-trees of Paraguay or amid the creepers and ferns of the Missionary ruins.<sup>1</sup> There, he would, at the very least, have freedom; and, deceived perhaps by his tropical surroundings, he would think he saw his native, hot Borneo; and, untiring and wandering, he would travel from branch to branch, for leagues and leagues, beneath the burning sun, in search of his lost mate, upon whom, hardly four months before, he turned a last look of infinite affection: upon the one, who, with the babe in her arms, awaited his return at nightfall. And at night Petronio did not return. At that time he was not Petronio; he was a free man of the woods, a loving father who went in search of wild fruits, the frugal meal of that primitive home. His extreme caution, which had enabled him to surmount a thousand dangers during the twenty years of his life, on that fatal day hesitated a moment; he wished to descend to the earth upon the bed of green, which, by a rare accident, was there in the depth of the forest; and,

what a moment! The earth opened under his feet, and he was hurled to the bottom of a pit, a trap, prepared by the natives, to catch tigers.

Afterward, a narrow box of strong timbers from the forest and a handful of rice and some water; then the constant noise of the movement of the machinery of the vessel that bore him from sea to sea: the Indian, the Red, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic. The innocent man of the woods arrived here; he was given a narrow room; his health was looked after and his hygiene; and his name was changed: he became Petronio.

He looked sadly upon the verdant landscape: the lakes, the festive summer note of feminine dresses, the flowers; but he saw it all through bars; he turned away his face; he preferred the somber cave, monotonous and close, of the inner chamber. There, squatting, crushed by such hopeless misery, he assumed the resigned aspect of irremediable despair.

The immense homesickness, the profound moral illness, has undermined his health; he is ill, very ill; he barely accepts, every other day, a few spoonfuls of milk; the native rice he will not look at; the perfume of luscious fruits does not tempt him. Petronio, with his head buried between his shoulders, gazes evening after evening at his long black hands, thinner every day; he does not wish to see any one and he scarcely replies to the affectionate voice that calls and urges him with new dainties.

One day, when he was offered a jug of warm, foaming milk, he arose staggering, drew near, bowed his head slightly, with a look of disgust, toward the milk; afterward, staring me fixedly in the eyes, he twice touched the lock of his cage, with full intention. I comprehended: he was begging of me his freedom. When I made as if I did not understand, the poor black, losing heart, again muffled himself up, buried in his misery.

Petronio hated me during the first month; he saw that it was I who kept him confined; but perhaps now he has come to understand me: when I call him, although he does not accept the milk, because of the illness that has wasted him, he comes at times to sit near me, as in the reception-

<sup>1</sup>An allusion to Misiones, a *gobernación* of Argentina, bounded on the northeast by Brazil, on the west by Paraguay and on the south by the province of Corrientes.—THE EDITOR.



room of a cloister; and he lets me caress him and touch his nails, large and perfect as if cared for by a manicurist.

To-day Petronio has experienced a new and desperate phenomenon. To please me, he has accepted two spoonfuls of milk. He soon threw it up and remained outstretched all day. In order to distract him, I gave him a mirror. He looked at himself sadly for a long time; then he pushed out his lips and imprinted a kiss upon the cold glass: the last that he will receive in his life.

## II

### THE DEATH

Petronio is sleeping at last. He rests tranquilly in his long prison, an innocent sacrifice, a victim to the unconscious perversity of humanity. He reposes. Yesterday afternoon, at five o'clock, while the flies swarmed with greater rage over his fleshless bones; while his companions in captivity, not so resigned as he, shook the bars of the other cells violently; while, outside, the crowd, stirred by the glory of a setting sun, pounded the door of his prison, and between cries and laughter, begged with insistency that Petronio should come out, he, sweetly, without a complaint, was slowly expiring.

In the morning he had a syncope; the director, his involuntary executioner and affectionate nurse, drew near to arouse him with ether. Petronio came to; he looked at the director with an eye still penetrating, softly extended his withered hand to push away the remedy and met the hand of the one who was attending him. That hand, formerly like strong pliers of muscle, gave a soft pressure upon the hand of the white man, upon that of the superior race that had conquered and martyred him and destroyed his life: the white, *potelée*, soft hand of the conquering man was for a long time intertwined with the rude, scaly, satyric hand of the vanquished monkey; but it was the poor monkey, it was Petronio, who, generous at that supreme moment, granted pardon: more noble, much more noble than Spartacus, the slave who died cursing the hated race of Rome.

The agony began at two in the afternoon; the black face turned pale and took on an

ashen color; the respiration became light, very light; he opened for a moment his heavy eyes and extended his tongue as if for a kiss of love; perhaps on that supreme occasion the molecules of his brain vibrated, renewing memories now remote: of the forest of Oceania, the wife, the son, who were stretching out their arms in answer to his last farewell.

At five o'clock the inner door was set ajar to give him a little more air: a batting of the lids, and he was dead with his eyes open. From his somber room, as from a camera obscura, the last sights that impinged upon the retina of this innocent creature were the motley surge and the bold stare of a hundred eyes that searched the depths to see him: the eyes of those whom he had so much hated during life.

### THE FEMINISM OF MY HIVE

When I stop in front of the glass-covered hive of the zoölogical garden, I instinctively rest my elbows upon the rail and meditate and thank God for not having caused me to be born a drone.

Behold—I think to myself—a society with an organization so complex and perfect that it might seem to be the ideal republic of Plato; but government, administration and work are carried by the female sex. The chief of this state, which is a combination of royalty and socialism, is a female, the queen; and the duties about the palace and the tasks of heavy labor in the flowery fields are admirably performed by thousands of females. They govern and command, and they work. What else remains for the males, in so absorbing and exclusive an administration, except to frolic around the hive, sing a little in the noon hours with their baritone buzz, accept, as the husbands of rich and exclusive women, the food and lodging bestowed upon them, and lead, in short, a perfect drone's life, since this is what is desired and demanded by the feminist party that makes the law and establishes customs? Fair, golden and burly—thanks to the fat they store up with their gorgings of honey—if they had at the beginning a certain liking for work, they must have had to abandon it because of the vivacious and

energetic protests of that feminism, at once oligarchical and socialistic, which in the female brain finds in such a disparity of principles a perfect adjustment! The manly dignity immediately lost all its tendency to protest.

Then, one day, usually in October, when the rose-trees are all in bloom; when the sun, without being troublesome, wraps everything in a warm caress, the government of the hive, by a general understanding of the workers—it is a well known fact that the queen reigns, but does not govern absolutely—determines that she ought to marry. The workers approach the drones affectionately and whisper in the ear of each of them—what perfidy! “To-day, at ten, thou wilt marry the queen.” They—great simpletons that they are, who because of their very laziness and little experience of life, at the agreeable phrase, “thou wilt marry the queen,” have not sense enough to add an “if I can”—get ready for the ceremony.

So, at the hour fixed by the conventionalists, the queen sets out toward the azure like an exhalation, the drones in the rear, panting, proboscises out. The best fed takes the lead by many heads. The queen and the consort drone are lost to sight in the azure dome, their magnificent nuptial couch.

The losers, before returning to the hive, rest a moment upon the rose-trees, that they may catch their breath and enter with ceremonious composure, after the wild and, for them, ridiculous flight. At the moment they enter the palace, the conqueror arrives to fall dying upon the threshold. He was a king for an instant and he paid with his life for the noble mission which he discharged by order of those that governed. The fall of the victor, now mutilated and well nigh a corpse, is the sign that those hypocrites are awaiting to make an end of those whom they have so long regaled and tended. The band of victimizers makes its rounds at the entrance to the hive. They are not exactly sergeants with a dagger in the belt, but they have their dagger, and, as the señores drones come lighting at the hour of the habitual savory meal, they are sent with two good thrusts to keep company with that David Rizzio who

is still quivering in the tremors of his last agony, there at the foot of the throne.

So, when my elbows, aching from resting upon the hard rail of the hive of the zoölogical garden, compel me to interrupt my observations, I thank Providence that, in his inscrutable decrees, he has not designed me for a drone.

## THE BROOD HUSBAND

There are animals without a mother: behold this creole scene.

Among polygamous peoples, the lord of the harem must necessarily be either a perverse, or at least, a gentle tyrant. Ten women in a house—one must have a wrist to keep them subject—whence arises despotism. I, however, both in the pampas of the desert and in the pens of the zoölogical garden, have observed and known the ostrich, a limited polygamist, who lives tranquilly with his four or five very ambulatory females, until they, on a certain day, when the small fruit of the *cepacaballo*<sup>1</sup> ripens, plant, just anywhere, as it were, in their husband's pasture, a few eggs—after the manner of those infants that are left in vestibules—and they disappear.

Don Nándú,<sup>2</sup> more or less of a philosopher, grumblingly hisses his well known lament; seeks the wallow of loose earth where his wives were wont to have their dust baths; and, finally, almost resigned, working a little with his feet and a little with his bill, he pushes and assembles in that depression the eggs, those projected infants. He looks and hisses again; no one answers: he recounts the eggs, separates the oldest one; then he, the rapid courser of the pampa, the agile caperer, who in the chase is wont to tire out horses and dogs, takes it upon him to become a setting-hen.

A brood husband! The world is reversed. In the human species, under equal circumstances, the man entertains himself by lingering at the club, engaging in long-drawn-out games of billiards; in short, he is not in the least an ostrich. While the ostrich takes so seriously his paterno-

<sup>1</sup>Cardoon: *Cynara Cardunculus*.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup>The Guaraní word for ostrich.—THE EDITOR.



maternal rôle, those ladies frisk about, show their feathers that open to the air, have great *parties de chasse* after the locust, frequent social gatherings, in short, while the heat of the sun and the fasting, little by little, melt and consume papa's fat buttocks.

Finally don Nandú feels one day, rumbling under his callous breast, the weak blows of the chicks that beg for a look at the light: his paternal sensibilities tell him that he is at last a mother. He arises, stiff and tottering with the veritable *tour de force*, to which his sex is not accustomed, and lovingly, as only a mother can, he opens with very delicate taps of his bill the shells, now for him sacred; and, wet but vigorous, the little ones gather round his squalid stilts. Up and doing, he prepares the first nourishment. He breaks the egg set aside: what a smell! It is so strong that the blue flies, always ready for these banquets of carrion, gather by the hundred to sip this decomposed omelet. By this trait of knowing how to handle himself he demonstrates that he is a good creole. While the chicks are picking off the flies, he does not taste a bite. "Eat, my little children," he seems to be saying to them; "have a good time now, you who have no mother." Not a word of reproach for the absent! If the young things, with their insistent "*pío-pío*" seem to be calling them, they do not answer, because they would not understand; but certainly his little ostrich brain must be thinking, with more or less skepticism: "*Les hommes font les lois, mais les femmes montent les mœurs*;" and nothing more; for if he is a husband, he is also a gentleman; and he "*n'insulte jamais une femme qui tombe!*"

#### IN MEMORY OF A BELOVED TIGER

August 28. It was a day like this:—cold, with a hurricanewind from the south—when the Bengal tiger cub, abandoning his sick bed, with the suffering of the asphyxiated in his eyes, set out in search of the friendly cane-brake, the dense bamboo, which, a few days before, sheltered him, gleeful in his childish games. He turned his muzzle to the wind in search of the air he lacked; he no longer perceived the

heaters, placed near his puny little body; his sight was darkening; the beings he loved he now saw no more; his isochronal panting, like bellows without air, kept up incessantly, day and night, was slowly being extinguished, and the dear little fellow, the Bengal tiger, loved deeply by all those who took care of him, remained at last motionless, resting for ever in the little jungle, which he had chosen as a place in which to die.

It was three in the afternoon, on the tenth day of August. The cold wind, the great traitor, whistled and whirled, curling with its gusts the striped jacket of the little dead prince. It seemed to us almost a sacrilege that the crafty assassin should still torment its victim; and at that sad moment, we who had witnessed the end unanimously made a movement to carry to cover that small, lifeless body.

His short history will better explain the true regard we had for him. Snatched from the jaws of the mother, who, jealous, was going to kill him, unconsciously in the first moment of his life; inclosed in a small basket and warmed, and brought up on the bottle, even with his eyes closed, he gave signs of the inherited perversity of the race. Finally he opened his eyes, began to know the friendly shape that caressed him and satisfied his hunger and he did not see anything about him but affection, fondling and a vast amount of patience and care to save him.

Nothing of harshness, anger, roaring, in the surroundings in which he was being developed; and when, now well and strong, he was left to his own free will, and his intelligence began to unfold according to the kindergarten system, he was not made to feel the hand of the master, the teacher who instructed him; but the master and teacher, both in one, turned himself into a tiger, played with him on the floor and tried to discover what the cub thought. I believe I do not exaggerate when I say I think that in those moments I knew what he wished, and that he was aware that I knew it; and I can assert that at the age of six months of life in a human environment the little tiger had an intelligence more highly developed than that of a domestic dog of ten months. Only at

feeding time did he seem full of the ancestral instinct, and it was respected; afterward he was always a gentle, sweet, intelligent creature who played with everybody, but who truly loved only two, his master and his unselfish nurse.

The time strictly necessary for his rearing being passed, I felt with pain that I ought to exhibit him. I chose for this purpose one of the sheltered departments of the monkeys: the poor little fellow became sad, in spite of the fact that he was permitted to leave the inclosure and pass in his beloved home the hours during which the crowd was least numerous. When he returned, he entered obediently, uttered every now and then short, suppressed whines, and passed hours and hours walking back and forth impatiently, rubbing against the netting that held him prisoner.

On the fifth day his respiration seemed to be somewhat abnormal: it was the last day of his confinement; obviously a pulmonary congestion was setting in. Physicians, remedies, care, he did not lack; and the little fellow allowed to be done and did not oppose anything that was tried on him. He passed the time on his attendant's bed, like a little child, quiet, serene, until three days before his death; by that time his look of agony and his movements seemed to indicate that it was air he needed. So at length he went, leaving very sad memories and true affection.

Oh, little one! About the memory of thee does not hang the unquenchable hatred of race, the terror aroused by the criminal generations that engendered thee: thou wast perhaps the only tiger in the world that knew how to make himself liked by man!

In setting out in the earth near thy little body, cut to pieces in the autopsy, the tiny cypress that will take strength from thy flesh, I thought of thee with unspeakable tenderness, and I remembered Job, so querulous and so just:

I should have been as though I had not been; I should have been carried from the womb to the grave.

Then the cypress, dull and black, will slowly and solemnly swing, during full

moons still remote, repeating softly upon thy tumulus, already worn away.

*Fuiste causi non essem; de utero translatus ad sepulcrum.*

## THE LITTLE GRAY PRINCESSES

After several years the little gray princesses have returned my visit and they have deigned to accept the hospitality of my house.

They came officially, presented by the minister plenipotentiary of their country, but without announcement, and I had to prepare for them in a hasty manner the chamber of honor: my library. Their little royal highnesses were of very simple tastes: it was therefore necessary for me to remove the carpets and leave the parquet bare; but in Buenos Aires they exact, as a chief article of furniture, a hygrometer, which was set up, and, in order somewhat to avoid the damp exhalation which the lakes throw off, two vases were transformed into receptacles for unslacked lime, constantly renewed, that it might absorb the surrounding dampness.

Like exotic princesses of the Asiatic Orient, even if they do not travel with a cook from their own land, they at least demand the dainties of their remote country: a hard gramineous substance, the sober food of an anchorite.

Here you have the chamber: a pine box with straw and sand, and as a canopy a wire gauze, whence hangs the tough forage brought weekly from Catriló in the pampa.

Mesdames the little princesses sleep until very late in the day. I have the honor to arrange personally their apartment for them, and mine is the exalted pride of having to visit them in bed. Highly pleased, they receive me and chat with me at any hour between four in the afternoon and twelve at night. I do not hear their voices, but I see clearly that they speak by a movement of their lips and whiskers; for my little princesses wear a bristly beard ten centimeters long. They frisk about me, huddle at my feet, stand upright and with their little hands they take from mine any sliver of salsify root I may offer them.

My little princesses ought to be honorary



and active presidents of all the temperance societies of the world: because of their horror of alcohol, they do not even drink water; nevertheless—one of the unfathomable mysteries of life!—they keep their chamber moist.

They do not complain at our Buenos Aires climate. However, in order to return my visit they have traveled thirteen degrees of latitude toward the south and they have descended four thousand meters: they came from the regions of the clouds, but where there are no clouds and where the air is diaphanous, where the temperature rises during the day to fifty degrees, centigrade, and falls during the hours of the night to twenty degrees below zero.

I became acquainted with them one day in their desolate land, in the imposing "uninhabited region," an enormous stretch of luna landscape covered with craters and scoria, so near the sky that the stars could be made out in full daylight; so near to space that at night the traveler feels that he is separated from the earth, and the stars seems to be within reach. There, upon that table-land, all upheaved and chaotic, the enormous quarry, abandoned from the time when God built the world out of rocks; there, while I moved at the slow pace of my poor rough-shod mule through the pure and diaphanous atmosphere of Atacama, which brightens colors and brings objects near like a lens, I saw one morning upon a cliff of red porphyry the little gray princesses, chinchillas absorbed and ecstatic beneath the rays of the sun, after a night as icy as one in a dead planet.

The little princesses were taking their sun bath, and, like chaste Susannas, they fled, startled, among the crevices of the crags.

I left my mule, head down and thinking over the mulish miseries of life in the desert, and I went to the door of the palace of red porphyry. I introduced my whole arm into the dark vestibule; the floor was soft and covered with vegetable fragments; in vain my hand felt in the void: the tunnel ran back beyond my reach. I removed some stones from the entrance, and there below flashed like sapphires the Atacaman azurite. In that arid desert the little gray princesses lived in palaces of precious stones.

The frightful wind of the puna began to blow; I reached my mule, which had gone on thinking over the miseries of mulish life in the desert; and I did not again see the desolate kingdom of the little gray princesses, their royal highnesses the chinchillas, which I to-day have the honor to entertain in my house.

## VOICES FROM THE SILENCE

The harsh grinding of the rubble beneath the small feet of the girls has already ceased; the heavens begin to roof themselves with stars, the walks are deserted and the noises are withdrawing to the outside.

The penumbra slowly invades the levels of the garden; the darkling wood, pleasant to sojourn in during the hours of the day, is now wrapped in the dense nocturnal blackness; the lofty fringe of its surroundings begins to assume gigantic proportions in the yet transparent curtain of the gray sky of departing day. Its summits quiver with a slight whisper, it is the nocturnal breeze that passes; it is the first murmur of the voice of the silence.

Far away, far away, farther even because of the contrary wind, is heard the scream of the locomotive that querulously demands the right of way.

Now arrive the tardy ducklings, uttering their soft notes and seeking the friendly lake. Upon it sail, silent and white, with a whiteness almost phosphorescent, the legendary swans. On the other bank, a subdued whispering, as of voices that are being suppressed: they are the last salutes, the good-night, which the flamingos utter before going to bed comfortably upon a single foot. The nocturnal atmosphere seems an harmonical vault that gathers and accentuates the noises unnoticed during the day. Now may be heard even the soft thread of the light hoofs of the Patagonian rabbits. They are going, one after another, free, to spend the entire night in the little hutch that shelters other poor captives. Upon the deep quiet sounds, dry and close at hand, the explosion of a pneumatic tire of a very highly recommended brand. It brusquely breaks the nightly silence. The thirty peacocks, in-

visible among the lofty branches of the tree-tops, stridently intone their cry of alarm: a voice fully understood by all the pensioners of the garden. The heavy ruminants get up; the flock of guanacos mills, presses together and, with ears erect, fathoms the shadows. When an occasional scattered cry of the peacocks indicates that their fears are now subdued, sonorously and deeply thunders the roar of the lions, which little by little becomes stilled like an echo, in the great peace of the park which rapidly returns to the silence of seemingly unbroken slumber.

It is ten o'clock at night: it is the hour in which the African ostriches emit their grave and muffled sigh.

It is eleven o'clock: the moon, high above, flees madly toward the white patches of cloud. The black pool of the hippopotami exhales light vapors; the water bubbles silently; now appear the withers of the pachyderm; he raises his snout and utters his hoarse, interrupted notes, as if to call the female. Muffled by the thickness of the heavy walls is half heard the grave reply: they are the sighs of the mate, the lament of the mother who ought to be tending her young.

Silence reigns again: the characteristic silence of the countryside, vexed by the

infinite croaking of the batrachians, to which no heed is given: it is plenitude of silence.

Midnight; one o'clock: the cocks of fine breed are not the descendants of the insolent accuser of the apostle Peter: they sleep like pigs through their heavy digestion. The timid, very distant echoes of the slumbering city, the reflections of which may be discerned toward the south, are also stilled. "All is silence round." It is the hour in which even the sick begin to quiet down. The morning star, harbinger of the dawn, shows twinkling between the merlons of the black mounds of the bears. The *ratoncila*, the tiny Argentine nightingale, chants its subdued notes to announce the day; now begins the hoarse, interminable love ballad of the stags in heat. The nocturnal silence is ending; already the strident notes of the batrachians have ceased. It is almost four; the game-cocks, slightly sluggish, give their crow of midnight; once again the locomotive in the distance demands the right of way with insistent voice. Day has come, murky, overcast, laden with reddish vapors that soon will shed their veil of rain upon the park we beheld so poetic, and whose palpitations of nocturnal repose we heard upon a temperate night of spring.





# BARTOLO

BY

ANTONIO CAÑAMAQUE

Those who had the pleasure of reading "*Quare Causa*," written by this author, and which we have already published, will be prepared for the whimsical strain that runs through his writings. He makes Bartolo, in his queer loneliness and his concentration upon his flute with a single finger-hole, live in the memory of the reader.—THE EDITOR.

**T**HIS is Bartolo, he of the flute; and if it be not he, it ought to be.<sup>1</sup>

He became popular long ago, doubtless by his whim of using a flute with a *single hole*, and with which, perhaps on this very account, he could not achieve great artistic success; but, on the other hand, he had the reputation of being an obedient son, complying, without the least protest, with all the wishes of his good mother, who, thinking she had in the house a rival of Gorin, used to say to him every little while: "Play the flute, Bartolo."

Bartolo, submissive, played his flute with a single vent, putting his whole soul into the effort; but alas! the soul of an artist can expand little enough, if it has for the purpose only one outlet of expression.

It is, indeed, no small thing that a flute with a single hole should inspire an ingenuous, sweet-tempered, affectionate youth, especially if it awakens noble sentiments, a feeling for art, in the being to whom he owes his existence; but it is quite different with other persons less inclined to benevolence and of a more *bard-visaged* sensibility. It is impossible to bear them away to the realms of art through a tube, as it were, with a single vent. To blow and to make bottles is easy; but it is another thing to stir artistic emotions with such limited means!

Did there exist a certain likeness between Bartolo and the celebrated cloth merchant named "don Juan del Aujero"?<sup>2</sup>

Who knows? We think there did not,

<sup>1</sup>The original article was strikingly illustrated by a colored picture of Bartolo playing his flute.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup>*Aujero* is the vulgar form of *agujero*, hole.—THE EDITOR.

however; for while Bartolo, full of filial love, patient and humble, blew the flute for the supreme purpose of spiritual expansion, the other, more prosaic and positivistic, greatly enriched himself by selling stolen rags, like a mole, through the single hole out of which passed his wares. No; positively there was nothing in common between them: the *hole-let* in the flute and don Juan's trading hole were created for contrary purposes, without any doubt.

The institution of Sunday rest was welcomed by the artist as a blessing, as a piece of providential interposition. At last he would be able to spend an entire day, free of care, at his favorite occupation, and thus wholly to devote himself, for many hours, to his poor and deeply felt creations, which he emitted as the day died, tranquil of spirit, his lips puckered in the shape of a funnel.

Is it possible, however, that there is any one who is capable of finding esthetic pleasure in playing a flute with a single hole? Yes; it is possible, and even more: he made himself celebrated.

We know not whether it was because of filial affection, love of the art, or an accident—as runs the fable—that a man, dull, timid, humble, of rudimentary sensibility, should in his voluntary isolation, find incomprehensible pleasure in becoming a solitary flutist and in giving himself up entirely to this inoffensive pleasure that he never attempted to define. In the brief parentheses, the spaces of silence necessary to moisten his lips and inhale the air, the good mother, from the adjoining room, encouraged him tenderly with her eternal refrain: "Play the flute, Bartolo."

Years have passed; Bartolo's mother can no longer repeat the exhortations of other

years, as she has for ever abandoned the world, the land of the living; and her son, the good Bartolo, whose head is now whitened, is still obsessed with the idea of making a concert instrument of his flute with a single hole, and at the same time he is striving to find synthetic music.

He spends hours and hours, lost to the world and its vanities, absorbed in his inner world, playing and playing, applying to this simple operation his very soul, his sensibility of a primitive artist, all notion of time forgotten, in mystic rapture, while the tip of his forefinger stops and unstops, at irregular intervals, the only hole of the poor little instrument that made him popular among us.

Filled with silent melancholy, he has his try at operas that have gone out of fashion, in which flute obligatos were so prominent: *Dinorah*, *Barbiere* *Sonnambula*, *Lucia*. Cascades of sounds, trills of notes, melancholy showers, which, as they patter in drops, inundate with profound sadness the poor Bartolo, cruelly revealing to him his persistent impotence.

When, in front of some music shop, he pauses, grave and silent, to gaze and gaze at the elaborate modern flutes of nickel, polished, shining, full of keys and perforations, one sole thought takes entire possession of him, causing him to exclaim:

"With one of them, anybody could play!"





# ROSAS AND DOCTOR FRANCIA

BY

JOSÉ DE ARMAS

These two names are inseparably linked with critical periods in the history of Argentina and Paraguay. Interest in them has been greatly increased during recent years by the publication of certain works regarding them. The author serves the reading public by sketching and comparing these two figures; and while he conceives them to be subjects for pathological study, he holds that the peoples, during the periods of their sway, partook of the same morbid character and were the producers of their tyrants. The article is therefore of universal application.—THE EDITOR.

I

**D**ON RUFINO BLANCO-FOMBONA, the Venezuelan novelist, critic and patriot, at present directs a publishing house in Madrid (*Editorial América*), which renders great service to the culture of both worlds. In different collections he has published many good works, either ancient and difficult to obtain, or of new and famous authors. Among the last volumes of the collection of *Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* is a work that I have just read with singular profit. It is entitled *Rosas y el doctor Francia (estudios psiquiátricos)*, and its author is don José M. Ramos Mejía, president of the Consejo Nacional de Educación of the Argentine Republic.

That Rosas and Francia lived, and as to their unusual deeds, there can be no doubt. There are still those who recall the terror with which their parents, and they themselves in their childhood, pronounced the name of "his excellency Doctor Francia" (who received at the Baptismal font the name of José Gaspar Rodríguez), "the most excellent supreme dictator of Paraguay," or as it pleased him to be called at other times, "the supreme" and "the government." He died in the year 1840. There still live those who suffered in Buenos Aires the horrors of *La Matanza* and miraculously escaped the homicidal fury of the "illustrious restorer" don Manuel Rosas, who miraculously lasted until 1870. How was it possible that these two men, without inheriting power or even accomplishing great military

feats, should maintain themselves for long years and be able to dispose according to their whim of the goods, lives and honor of their compatriots, and be, at the same time, guilty of the most horrible arbitrariness, abuses and violences? A similar question has been raised not infrequently in order to cast suspicion upon the veracity of Tacitus Suetonius and other historians of the Roman decadence. How was it possible, it has been asked, that Tiberius, Nero, Claudius, Caracalla, Elagabalus, and the Cæsars, who were a reproach to our race, could go to such extremes of crime and madness with the consent, and almost the complicity, of their entire nation?

If their infamy was enormous, worse, much worse, was the vileness of the Romans. America, however, has been able to demonstrate that those tyrannies were possible, and that peoples, without sharing the perversity of their despots, have submitted to them resignedly. Rosas, although driven out at last (perhaps because he did not have the courage to defend himself with spirit), died in England at the age of eighty-four, beneath the tranquil protection of the liberty he so much hated. Francia died much older still, at ninety, from senile disorders, in his palace at Asunción, and even to the regret, as it seems, of Paraguay. Why should we be surprised that there were those who wept over Nero, and spread flowers upon his tomb, as Tacitus relates to us.

Francia and Rosas were not the only ferocious tyrants of the New World, either. Without referring to other examples—very notorious and recent—without going over the very unfortunate history of all the Hispano-American republics, it is sufficient

to recall the somber García Moreno,<sup>1</sup> the cruel restorer of the Holy Office, who, although he died violently, also had those who exalted his memory. Tyranny is a normal product, not an extraordinary phenomenon, of human nature. This is well proven not only by the fact that there exist multitudes who bend their necks submissively to its yoke, but also by the enthusiastic admiration that tyrants awaken, even far from the scenes of their prowess. I do not know whether Rosas has had defenders within or without Argentina; but García Moreno has been acclaimed, not only in Quito, but also in Paris by the pen of Louis Veuillot; and the most illustrious apologist of Doctor Francia was not a *sinsonte*<sup>2</sup> upon the banks of the mighty Plata, but the biographer of Schiller and Frederick the Great, the creator of the literary cult of heroes and heroism, the inspired historian of the French revolution, Thomas Carlyle.

The señor Ramos Mejía does not mention in his learned work Carlyle's curious article upon Doctor Francia, published in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, three years after the latter's death; but in his work he has made use of books and documents that also served Carlyle: above all, the historical essay, in French, of the year 1827, upon "The Revolution in Paraguay and the Dictatorship of Francia," by Messieurs Rengger and Longchamp, and of the several volumes in English by J. P. and W. P. Robertson, published in 1839. How great a difference, nevertheless, between the conclusions the two critics draw from the same facts! In Carlyle's portrait of Francia, the dictator appears, in spite of his tyranny, as a man of good intentions, honest, austere, not wanting in generosity, and zealous for the interests of his country, although driven occasionally to severe extremes by unavoidable necessity. If Carlyle did not approve of all Francia's conduct, he seemed to excuse it; and he was very far from believing, like the Argentine writer,

that Francia was a madman smitten with a mania for persecution and the delirium of greatness.

Heaven forbid that I should compare the señor Ramos Mejía with Carlyle! By his vigorous genius, his sublime elevation, his profound penetration of the human soul, the author of *Sartor Resartus* is immortal among the literary artists of the nineteenth century. The señor Ramos Mejía, without being a Carlyle, may be right, however, as against Carlyle, and he is right beyond question. His mentality, although Latin, is not impassioned; his judgment is upright; and his impartiality is undeniable. A man of science and a friend of liberty, he has not become infected with the *morbus democraticus*—a phrase of Brière de Boismont's which he himself cites—nor with the *morbus tyrannicus*. Between the paroxysms of anarchy and the cruelties of despotism, he is able to carry himself with equanimity, at a distance from both extremes. His opinion regarding Doctor Francia is not based upon partisan passion. It is the logical result of his examination of the facts in the light of psychiatry, with all the interest, but also with all the serenity, of the physician who studies a clinical case.

Carlyle, on the other hand, had a German mentality, rectilinear, violent, unjust, incapable of seeing more than a single aspect of men and their actions. He is the only great modern writer whom the Germans have now excepted from their censorship. If Carlyle had been able to live until 1914—and it goes without saying that this would be improbable, as he was born in 1795—who could doubt that he would be a Germanophile, or at least one of these *neutrals* who measure with the same yardstick, and cherish an equal respect for, the Germans and the Belgians? If it were not evident from his books, his attitude toward the French people in 1871 would be sufficient to prove it. His benevolent opinion regarding Doctor Francia ought not to cause wonder therefore, and much less after the admiration awakened in him by the monstrosities of that other insane criminal called Frederick the Great of Prussia. A terrible effect of the *morbus tyrannicus* upon the most eminent minds!

<sup>1</sup>Gabriel García Moreno (1821–1875), an Ecuadorian politician and writer, who was president of the republic on two different occasions, and who perished by assassination in Quito, after holding the reins of government for fifteen years.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup>A species of thrush, with a varied and melodious song.—THE EDITOR.



Carlyle, who began by admiring force, ended by worshiping it in all its manifestations. Why should he not have been indulgent and kindly toward Doctor Francia, if he believed in Frederick's good faith and even in the truthfulness of Mohamed? The señor Ramos Mejía can, in this case, be proud of his disagreement with a genius.

The sage and interesting work of the president of the Consejo Nacional de Educación of the Argentine Republic is not an historical study of the governments of Rosas and Francia. He has limited himself to proving that they were lunatics, worthy, not of exercising the supreme headship of state in their respective countries, but of seclusion for life in an asylum for the insane. The proofs are indisputable, although, perhaps, the exercise of tyranny may have developed the disease that under other circumstances might have remained latent in each. Carlyle, nevertheless, in the face of the facts related by four eye-witnesses of the government of Doctor Francia—Messieurs Rengger and Longchamp and the Robertson brothers—remarks that they have led many people in England to reflect upon the disadvantages of constitutional government.

The government of Paraguay was constitutional, and the country was in the greatest disorder. Francia suppressed the constitution, and the people settled down in perfect order, in a profound peace, so profound that nothing could seem more like death. They were isolated from the rest of the world, and the world forgot that Paraguay existed. No one could enter the domains of the "supreme dictator," without permission from "his excellency." No one might leave—which was much more difficult than to enter—without a permit from the dictator himself. No one might lift his eyes from the ground, when he passed near the palace in Asunción, and look toward the window of "his excellency." This offence was punished by the pain of death. The same punishment was meted out to every one who permitted himself to censure the "government" or its employees; and in that palace near the sleeping apartment of "his excellency," functioned "the chambers of truth," where his executioners,

under his direction and in consultation in difficult cases, applied a torture, that would make Torquemada turn pale, to those accused of the frightful crime of not believing that paradise was to be found precisely in Paraguay.

Innumerable persons groaned in the dungeons—and what dungeons!—without hope of liberty, as long as the dictator lived, and we know now that it was almost a century. They suffered for divers causes: one of them, for example, for having been in his youth the fortunate rival of Doctor Francia; another, for having thrown "his excellency" out of his house (before dreaming that he would become dictator, naturally) and calling him a "mulatto." "His excellency" had a very good memory. In order to govern in that manner, he did not need chambers or responsible ministers or office secretaries. It was sufficient for him to have his *clerk*, a name that he gave a certain Patiño—secretary, amanuensis, minister and executioner all in one, and, for good measure, bow-legged, with his legs so fat that it was difficult for him to walk. Referring to the slowness of his gait, the dictator was wont to say with profound conviction that, in order to give liberty to these peoples, one must proceed with Patiño's legs. Was he not right? Here we have the great Carlyle demonstrating that such a régime was preferable to all constitutions.

## II

The tyranny of Rosas in Buenos Aires is perhaps the most terrible that history records. Not even the "terror" of France, in 1793, presented equal examples of blood and oppression. *La Maçorca* (according to its official name the "Sociedad Popular Restauradora") was a kind of club of criminals, protected by the tyrant, to sieze and torment with the most cruel death, all those who did not belong to the party of Rosas. Its members were recruited from among the most abject and ignorant classes. In Buenos Aires at that time, to belong to a distinguished family, to be gentle and well educated, to have good habits, exposed one to death. The drunken bands of the *maçorqueros*, with their faces covered with paint in order to increase the

public terror, went through the streets, beheading men, women and children to right and left. When the bodies reached a certain number, *La Mazorca* fired shots to notify those in charge of the street cleaning to come and gather up the remains of the victims.

One of the crimes that provoked the rage of those barbarians, was to deny worship to Rosas. A portrait of him was carried about like a sacred image by the *mazorqueros*, and it was placed in the churches, above the altars next to the image of Jesus Christ. The priests from the pulpits invited the faithful to the impious worship. "It is proper," said one of these priests friendly to Rosas, "to worship God, but it is more proper to worship the restorer of the republic." Mitre, the illustrious leader and patriot, and Sarmiento, the great dictator and reformer, have written admirable pages upon that frightful period, some of which are quoted by the señor Ramos Mejía in his book. Reading the *Civilización y barbarie* of Sarmiento, the true restorer, or, rather, the creator of civilization and good government in Argentina, and justly venerated by his compatriots, it is astonishing how our country, in the nineteenth century, was able to endure so sanguinary a despotism. From 1839 until 1842, extended the terrible years in which Rosas reached the extreme limit of his madness.

The portrait of Doctor Francia, the melancholy homicide, shut up in his palace in Asunción and entertaining himself with the groans of those who were tortured at his orders, is somber enough; but it pales beside that of Rosas, delirious, ferocious, surrounded by slaves and buffoons, and reaching the greatest imaginable limits of cruelty and dementia.

I have said that the scientific proofs of the insanity of Francia and Rosas presented by Ramos Mejía are incontestable; and I do not have to follow the erudite writer of these learned and able comparisons of the morbid symptoms and antecedents of the two tyrants with the clinical cases which the most illustrious European alienists discuss in their works. To enter upon such a ground is unnecessary for my purpose, above all, when the señor Ramos

Mejía narrates certain cases in which the mental alienation of the protagonist is evident, even to those who are lacking in ideas as to psychiatry. Read, for example, the following quotation, which the señor Ramos Mejía took from the work, *Rosas y sus opositores*, by the señor Rivera Indarte. Speaking of Rosas, Rivera Indarte said:

His restless wife died in 1838. In her last moments she was surrounded, not by the professors who might relieve the pangs of her body, nor by friendship, nor by religion, but by a profound and hopeless solitude, broken by the mirth and obscenities of the tyrant's buffoons. They were giving her certain medicines, and often the ears of the poor invalid were rent by the satirical voice of her husband, who shouted to one or another of the madmen: "Here, you! lie down by Encarnación, if she wishes, and console her a little." The unfortunate creature felt she was dying and she begged for a priest in order to confess. Rosas refused, giving as a pretext that his wife knew many things regarding the Federación and she might reveal them to the friar. When they informed him that she had died, he ordered a clergyman to come to administer to her the *extreme unction*; and in order that the priest might believe that the holy oil was poured upon a dying person and not upon a corpse, one of the lunatics, placed under the bed upon which the body rested, caused it to move, but with such clumsiness that the priest, after having pretended that he did not understand anything, dashed terrified from that cave of iniquity and disclosed the infernal scene, in which he was an involuntary actor, to the venerable ecclesiastic from whose lips we have this story.

This lugubrious act is innocent, however, by the side of another, related, not now by Rivera Indarte, but by the señor Ramos Mejía himself:

The day following her death (his wife's), Rosas shut himself up in his room with Viguá and Eusebio, and he blubbered over the death of his Encarnación. After a few moments, he gave truce to his sorrow, struck one of them a blow and with a doleful voice he asked them:

"Where is the heroine?"

"She is seated on the right hand of the omnipotent Father," answered Viguá, and they began to boohoo again.

Let not the reader suppose that this scene is more proper to an asylum for the insane than many others that were pre-



sented during that gloomy period in the presidential palace of Buenos Aires. Rosas entertained himself by administering to his crazy buffoons of henchmen injections of air until he inflated their intestines and swelled out their stomachs. He once ordered the one called Eusebio to put on boots filled with burning embers; at another time he made the imbecile Viguá sit down without his nether garments upon an ant-hill until he had devoured two dishes of sweets.

The señor Ramos Mejía says:

He was not to be classified in that mysterious zone of which Maudsley speaks, and on one of whose borders perversity is seen to predominate over insanity, while, on the opposite one, perversity is less, and insanity dominates. Rosas was frankly affected by a *moral dementia* in all its horrible plenitude. It began to manifest itself in his youth, and afterward publicly, causing him to paint mustaches upon his generals with burnt cork; to proscribe the evening coat; and himself to cut off with his own hands the skirts of the one worn by the señor Gómez de Castro at a public ball in the government house, while he presented himself in shirt-sleeves and drawers on notable and solemn occasions; to organize bands of ferocious men whose mission it was to clip the beards of the *unitary*<sup>3</sup> *savages*; and to fasten tufts of feathers with glue to the heads of their wives. Rosas made his daughter and his generals dance with negresses and mulattresses in the Alameda and in the squares about the churches; and, with his buffoons, he acted indecent and obscene farces, parodying the most sacred things, without any regard for the persons about him.

Another of Rosas's performances recalled by the señor Ramos Mejía—and, like all the preceding, based upon irreproachable historical testimony—was that of having upon the piano in his reception room, laid upon a plate and salted, the ears of Colonel Bordas (one of those who had dared to revolt against him) in order to exhibit them to his guests. Was it not the most surprising thing of all that Rosas should have had guests? Yet he had them. There exist other and more important proofs of the subjection and terror

that he succeeded in forcing upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Buenos Aires.

Nevertheless, the señor Ramos Mejía makes it clear that he was not brave. He suffered from spasms of panic in the face of danger; and if the cruelty with which he treated the revolutionists was monstrous, no less great was the fear with which they inspired him. Still, if he was a coward, how could he seduce a whole people to slavery? How did he succeed, not only in causing himself to be blindly obeyed, but also adored?

The answer is simple enough. To be a cruel tyrant, a sanguinary and unjust despot, great qualities of character, energy or talent are not required. Even less is heroism necessary. The only requisite is to be in a country that desires tyranny. In the seventeenth century, Étienne de la Boetie showed that the imbecility of people is absolutely the only force that tyranny can command. Centuries and centuries before, centuries after Montaigne's noble friend had written his immortal book, men suffered, and they will continue to suffer, the humiliations and miseries of despotism. Of all animals, man is the most credulous. His colossal egoism blinds him, and he always follows, along the path of duty or along that of crime, the one who is minded to deceive him by saying that he is working in behalf of his individual and collective interests. Slowly—*because the worst tyrannies have established and do establish themselves in an insidious manner and with local aspects*—the people themselves surrender, little by little, the national authority, power and treasure, their entire resources, until there be founded an hereditary empire or a perpetual dictatorship, according to the country, the race and, above all, the atavistic mentality of the nation.

The *morbus tyrannicus* poisons the noblest hearts and degrades the most brilliant minds. So we see that Carlyle's admiration for a Doctor Francia was possible, and that a whole nation, in many respects admirable and one that has produced illustrious men and great patriots, groveled, for several years, at the feet of a madman ready for the strait-jacket, like Juan Manuel Rosas.

<sup>3</sup>A name famous in the Argentine politics of the period following the struggle for independence, and descriptive of those who upheld unity or unitarianism in political affairs; it is the opposite of *federalist*.—THE EDITOR.

# THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

BY

MARIO GUIRAL MORENO

Very timely and instructive—particularly as revealing the local condition of social unrest and disturbance in the ranks of labor among the people of the neighboring republic, and as showing that the problems which exist there are identical with our own pressing problems of the day—is the following article. The author traces much of the American discontent to European sources; he describes the local situation; he shows what the Cuban government has done to rid the country of obnoxious and subversive foreigners; and he offers wholesome suggestions as to practical remedies. Throughout his tone is fair and conciliatory.—THE EDITOR.

**N**O GREAT length of argument is necessary to show that the recent war between the central empires of Europe and the allied or associated nations of the old and the new worlds that combined their forces and their resources to oppose the former, until they won the most far-reaching and decisive of victories, constitutes the event of most gigantic proportions recorded by the history of humanity throughout all its pages.

It is true that several times in earlier days the whole world was shaken by the violent shock of great opposing interests at war; but neither the population of the planet in those past ages, nor the wealth hitherto accumulated and involved, nor the instruments of destruction and annihilation brought into play before the great struggle, nor, in a word, the intellectual, material and economic potency developed by humanity in any of the great enterprises achieved by it in by-gone years, may be so much as compared with the extraordinary effort which the present generation of nearly all the countries of the earth has been forced to put forth in order to redeem from their condition of servitude not a few oppressed peoples; to bring to an end the degrading systems which had imposed upon many millions of men the iron organization of Prussian militarism; to carry, in short, to regions where the spirit of liberty seemed to be crushed by the irresistible will of great autocrats those principles that would regenerate and dignify the state of mankind for which so much blood has been shed—oftentimes uselessly—by all the peoples that have de-

sired to assure their own existence upon the indestructible foundations of a positive freedom and a sincere democracy.

A statement being made as to these premises, the correctness of which it would be a vain undertaking even to discuss, it can surprise no one that an occurrence of unparalleled magnitude, like that of the recent universal struggle, should produce the transcendent consequences that we are experiencing and should be the cause or source of a complete subversion, from many points of view, of the present politico-social organization, which threatens to undermine the deepest foundations of contemporary civilization, in attempting to replace the essential bases of society as it exists to-day by a new system, immoral and impracticable, whose only result would be a greater disequilibrium that might spring from those same forces upon whose due consideration depend the general peace, tranquillity and welfare.

A summary study of the changes or transformations, which, up to the present moment, may have been observed in the idealities and orientations of the human spirit, as consequences of the great tragedy begun in 1914, enables us to synthesize them under two principal aspects, which, in reality, are merged together, in view of the intimate relation of dependence that exists between them, and this may be enunciated in the following terms:

1. A tendency to secure a new social organization, based on foundations essentially economic, which shall bestow upon individuals a greater material well-being by an increase in the amounts re-



ceived in payment of the *maunual* labor rendered, and by a perceptible diminution of all the burdens, obligations and responsibilities that have hitherto rested upon the individual as an integral part of the family and a constituent element of society.

2. A tendency to subvert the existing social order among all the civilized peoples, under the pretext of vindications not always justifiable, in order to enable the forces that represent labor to overcome those supplied by capital in the form of wealth, intelligence or capacity, there being thus created an inequality, inverse to that which it is being sought to obviate, instead of there being established, as is attempted in appearance, an absolute equality between all the representative factors of the great industrial effort in which, in order to obtain food and have an eye to its necessities, a good part of humanity consumes its energies.

The first of the tendencies noted, cold, selfish and sensual, conduces directly to the suppression of all idealism and all noble spiritual manifestations, from the moment in which, in order to effect its end, it considers licit the most reprehensible means, without excluding even those that, because of their nature, signify an absence of all patriotic sentiment; and, in respect of the second, born under the stress of the great inequalities and injustices that exist in certain European countries, it has only served as an unhinging of those same peoples, which in freeing themselves from the dictatorship of autocratic rulers have fallen under the sway of a new coercive force—more unbearable even than the former one, because the old dictatorship was unipersonal, while this new force is collective—which in Europe is dominated “the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Those who are acquainted with the state of ominous slavery and servitude to which have been subjected the inhabitants of some of the European countries whose population is most numerous; those who are not ignorant of the profound and unquenchable racial hatred that exists between several of these same peoples, merged by force in order to form nations, lacking all ethnical unity and with geographical frontiers capriciously established; those who mediate, in short, upon the hateful conditions under

which millions of human beings, victims of all the injustices and of the most complete exploitation, were obliged to pass their miserable existence, can not be surprised that, when the links of the mighty chains that bound together those unhappy peoples, were fused by the heat of the revolutionary flames, there should have occurred a reaction, contrary to and more intense than the former action, producing as an inevitable consequence the loosing of all the passions long restrained and the predominance of the lowest instincts of men under the forms of envy, persecution, looting and vengeance.

The immense Russia—the cradle of Bolshevism—Poland, Austria, Hungary, Germany and several other disturbed countries, might allege as an excuse for the horrors that have sprung from the exaggerated and misguided revindications of the proletarian element, the circumstances already set forth, which explain, without justifying, certain intense and unyielding class hatreds and antagonisms. However, to carry, as is attempted, to all parts of the world the maxims and methods of the Bolsheviks; to raise the red flag of anarchy among peoples where social inequalities exist only in an inevitable degree and manner, and where all labor obtains adequate remuneration; to carry on a distintegrating work by means of the propaganda of anarchistic and revolutionary ideas, without a real foundation that justifies or excuses it, is to disregard the true interests of the social classes in whose name were employed those maxims and those methods, and it is, in brief, to set on foot a counter-productive and suicidal undertaking, since at the end of the journey its own authors will fare worse than ever, instead of obtaining, as they hoped, advantages and improvements.

Because of these strong and incontrovertible reasons it may be affirmed, without fear of its being gainsaid, that to indicate what those different antecedents and circumstances are among each people; to demonstrate, by force of reasoning, the impossibility of there coming to exist an absolute economico-social equality, longed for by many and comprehended by very few; to prove, indeed, with irrefutable data and figures that the frequent strikes and the con-

tinual increases in wages, far from solving, only aggravate and complicate the great problem of the scarcity of provisions, is to give unmistakable signs of interest in and sympathy for the working class; and it constitutes at the present moment the greatest and most positive service that can be rendered to the proletariat of good faith, that is, to those who are striving to better their social condition, without attempting to take upon their shoulders the painful task of reforming the world by removing the secular foundations of everything that has been created and exists up to the present.

Such is the object of the present paper: to sketch those three aspects—the most interesting of the labor problem—in relation to the Cuban proletariat, by bringing to the clear understanding and to the heart of our labor elements words less impassioned than those of the supposed *líders*<sup>1</sup> or directors; voices more sincere than those of certain personages, or rather, political underlings, who thirst for popularity; and counsels more wholesome and judicious than those derived from the pages of certain newspapers, which, looking merely to their commercial interests and disposed to keep in the good graces of the laboring classes, are not always disposed to reflect in their pages the true currents of public opinion rightly directed, preferring to sacrifice, in turn, the great collective or patriotic interests for whose preservation it is necessary to struggle in these days, exceptionally difficult, with perseverance, serenity and energy.

Among the countries whose political regimen and social organization prior to the war explain their present condition of disintegration, stands in the first place, be it said at once, the vast empire, half European and half Asiatic, where has just been extinguished, in a brusque and extraordinary manner, the numerous dynasty of the Romanoffs.

<sup>1</sup>The Spanish form of *leaders*, now generally accepted, although condemned by the grammar of the Spanish Royal Academy, is used here. It is pronounced as in English. Other interesting adaptations of English words are: *biftec* (beefsteak), *mitín* or *mitin* (meeting), *tranvía* (tramway); and occasionally one encounters such riotous neologisms as *gasfitero* and *gasfetería* (gas-fitter and gas-fitting or gas-fitter's shop).

—THE EDITOR.

No one who has read the magnificent article upon the “*Causas del derrumbamiento de Rusia*” (Causes of the Downfall of Russia), written by the distinguished Uruguayan writer, Doctor don Juan Gadea,<sup>2</sup> could be surprised at the horrors committed by the hosts that are led by the promoters of Bolshevism, Trotzky and Lenine, who, under pretext of destroying one tyranny, have created another much worse, whose most salient and somewhat paradoxical characteristic consists in the compulsory establishment of free love . . . thus making of woman a slave! The Uruguayan writer just mentioned, after recounting the principal antecedents of the great problem presented in the ancient empire of Nicholas II, reaches the conclusion that:

the events that occurred in Russia, after the revolution took place in that country in 1917, constitute a phenomenon *that must necessarily have been produced*, if a more or less slow evolution like that which had happened in Japan did not alter the political situation by transforming the governmental, economic and social system and the condition of the diverse nationalities that formed what was called Russia.

Then, after recognizing that there was no real political organization, inasmuch as in Russia

there existed only an autocrat, of the Asiatic kind, and a multitude of peoples exploited by the favorites of the Czar,

he presents these paragraphs upon which it would be well to fix the closest attention, since, by imitation or dementia, it is attempted to extend the maxims and methods of Bolshevism to all the corners of the world.

The fall of an empire that boasted centuries of existence, with a population of approximately 200,000,000 inhabitants, and the dislocation of the state in three days, while the emperor was at the head of some three million soldiers, is an unique occurrence in the history of humanity.

The empire overthrown, the people continued to fight as long as they were ordered to do so, but when they were told that they might elect their directors and when they saw that there was no fear of repression, they threw down their

<sup>2</sup>*Cuba Contemporánea*, December, 1918, pages 388-466.



arms, embraced their enemies of the day before, and permitted them to take possession of their country, while they devoted themselves to laying hold of the stores of food and drink.

Outside the army, the laborers abandoned their work and left the factories, banks, business houses and even private houses, without thinking of anything but living upon what belonged to others. It was a popular orgy that followed the orgy of the bureaucracy.

It is asserted that the Russian republic is a socialistic republic. This is one of the mistakes that must be caused to disappear. The Russian people followed Lenine because he commanded them not to fight any more, nor to obey any one, authorizing them, at the same time, to take possession of everything that existed in Russia, since the people are the true lords and masters of all Russia.

Uncultured, and incapable of establishing a difference between the national and the individual patrimony, between what it usurped and what is legitimately earned, the Russian masses gave themselves over to pillage, without concerning themselves, or being able to do so, with whether their leaders were democrats, socialists, communists or anarchists, or were common sharpers with ambition who took advantage of the ignorance of the people and the prevailing confusion to gratify their hopes.

As for Germany, even if the level of the intelligence and culture of her people is higher than that of Russia, the condition of political servitude and economic exploitation to which it was subjected during a period dominated of militarism, it was hardly different from that which existed among the peoples of eastern Europe.

The undeniable testimony of Mr. James W. Gerard, former ambassador of the United States of North America in Berlin, verifies the preceding affirmation in his interesting work, *My Four Years in Germany*, the translation of which into Spanish was made in a detestable manner, it should be said, by the Mexican diplomat, señor José F. Godoy, who for some time represented his country near the government of our nation.

Passing over what refers to the disciplinary regimen to which all the subjects of the kaiser were forced, with the almost complete suppression of the individual will, which is described detailedly in the work mentioned, we transcribe from it

only the following paragraphs, which will certainly cause well-meaning laborers to recognize the difference between the worker in Europe and in America, especially with regard to our country. Mr. Gerard says, referring to the German laborites, that

In peace times a skilled mechanic in Germany received less than two dollars a day, for which he was compelled to work at least ten hours. Agricultural laborers in the central empire are poorly paid. The women do much of the work done here by men. For instance, once when staying at a nobleman's estate in Hungary, I noticed that the gardeners were all women, and, on inquiring how much they received, I was told they were paid about twenty cents a day. The women in the farming districts of Germany are worked harder than the cattle. In summer time they are out in the fields at five or six in the morning and do not return until eight or later at night. For this work they are sometimes paid as high as forty-eight cents a day in harvest time.<sup>3</sup>

As to urban life, the former ambassador referred to affirms that

As one goes through the streets of Berlin there are no evidences of poverty to be seen; but over fifty-five per cent. of the families in Berlin are families living in one room.<sup>3</sup>

Something identical or similar occurs in most of the European countries, not only in the central empires, but also among the southern nations, among which Spain might be mentioned as a country where wages are wretched in relation to the cost of living, even in normal times. The causes of the existing want among the laboring elements of those countries are therefore peculiar, and they can not be created artificially in all the states of the rest of the world, as is maintained by some, in order to use them as the determining pretexts for strikes and upheavals of a revolutionary character, as has happened recently and is at present happening in several countries of America, among which our patria is included.

From England—a free nation, par excellence, where every individual is guaranteed the full enjoyment of his political rights and whose system of government might with propriety be called the monarchical republic—to her autonomous colonies of

<sup>3</sup>Taken from the original work in English.—THE EDITOR.

Canada and Australia, the same as in France, victorious and glorified, and in Austria and Hungary, beaten and disintegrated, and even without the great democracy that has its seat in North America, having been able to withdraw itself completely from the effects of the anti-capitalistic commotion, all the peoples of the earth, both those of the old continent and those of the Columbian hemisphere, have been simultaneously or successively shaken by formidable strike movements, which have disturbed the internal life and organization of the different countries, energetic measures of repression for the maintenance of order or the reestablishment of tranquillity being required in not a few cases as a supreme measure of social defense.

Only a few days ago, as if in obedience to a watchword, as if it was an affair of a vast scheme planned to provoke violent and difficult situations in four of the most important South American republics, there were caused to break out or an attempt was made to cause to break out, on the same day, great strikes in Lima, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile; if, indeed, according to the more or less confused news the cable has transmitted, it may be said that all these different movements, like some that preceded, have been overcome by the employment of force.

In behalf of her tranquillity and in order to free herself of elements notoriously pernicious, Argentina has expelled from her territory more than four hundred foreigners convicted of being habitual disturbers; and an equal or similar number of native workmen have been confined upon the Tierra del Fuego.

Also in self-defense, the press in general of that rich and progressive country, not being able to accept the attitude adopted by the operatives in refusing to "compose" the commercial advertisements of the firms boycotted by the labor organizations, has discharged all its typesetters and linotypers and suspended the publication of newspapers for an indefinite time, until new elements, in the preparation of which it is occupied, shall be ready to replace with their labors those who have been definitely discharged. So we are informed by a

cable message of the Associated Press, dated at Buenos Aires, the third day of the current month, and which we reproduce here, taking it from the daily *El Mundo* of this city, the number of the fifth day, as an example worthy of remembrance and imitation, since with this unanimous and very dignified attitude the Argentine press has given proofs of its love for the most precious and inalienable of all freedoms: the freedom of the press. The cable mentioned runs thus:

Buenos Aires, a city of more than 1,500,000 inhabitants, and with more than thirty daily publications in several languages, has been without newspapers and even without news bulletins for more than six days, thus returning to the days in which the inhabitants awaited the arrival of the steamers in order to inform themselves regarding what was happening throughout the world. The people seemed to accept the situation with complacency, as a simple phase of the many labor strikes that have been developed in that city during recent months.

Fifteen of the most important publications decided last Thursday to close their establishments for an indefinite period, after the refusal of the operatives to set up the advertisements of an establishment boycotted by the labor unions. The smaller newspapers have been compelled to suspend publication, because they could not make use of the machinery of the greater ones.

Determined not to be the only ones to suffer the consequences of their attitude, the proprietors of the newspapers suspended the publication of the news they were in the habit of giving upon the blackboards placed outside the buildings occupied by their staffs. The editors have put out the following sign:

"This newspaper has suspended indefinitely in defense of the freedom of the press."

The managers of the newspapers say that they will recommence publication when all the newspapers can count upon an office and press-room force that they are now training for the purpose of replacing the former operatives.

The newspapers published outside the capital do not circulate in Buenos Aires, as their directors have stood loyally by the struggle which has been carried on in the capital.

Imperishable honor and glory to the Argentine press, a mirror of future conduct for the Cuban dailies that, on similar occasions, have bent before the round negative of the operatives to set up ma-



terials in which ideas were set forth contrary to those considered objectionable by them!

It has already been said that one of the most effective means of contributing to tranquillize the mind of the proletarian elements to-day excited; of calming their violent passions; and of reaching a serene solution of the problems existing between capital and labor, consists in conveying to the intelligence of those who represent the latter of these forces, that is, laborism, the deeply rooted conviction that it is impossible to achieve a complete economic-social equality through the subversion of the present order of things by violent and arbitrary means, among other reasons, because, against all the efforts they might employ for the accomplishment of their desires, the other interested classes—which are the more numerous—would always oppose the right, questioned by no one, of legitimate self-defense.

Abounding in these ideas, an English newspaper has recently said that:

If the instinct of class unites, solidifies and disciplines the proletarian workman, that is, the propertyless class, this same instinct of class, of conservation and defense, compels the social forces that are represented by capital, wealth, property, to reach an understanding.

A writer and publicist, whose radical temperament puts him beyond all suspicion, in respect of the opinion of the proletarian classes, Doctor Orestes Ferrara, in an article entitled “Ni bolshevikismo ni reacción,” which was published in the daily *Heraldo de Cuba*, of this capital, April 22 last, after making it clear that

during the period of the war, with exceptions in America, laborers have received great benefits; for while the countrymen were fighting, the great masses in the cities lived in better conditions than in times of peace,

also pointed out a circumstance well worthy to be taken into account, that almost all the heavy economic burdens have been created by direct and progressive taxes upon incomes; but he recognizes the duty that rests upon the ruling classes to satisfy not a few of the needs to-day felt by the proletarian classes by changing

their present conditions of life and labor, but in the sense that

this transformation will not be effected by violence: either red or white. It is to be accomplished by a continuous and tranquil effort, with a broad action, not of parties or classes that develop ambitions and envies, but throughout the whole of society, with propaganda, example, solidarity and applied virtue.

The proletariat of the larger part of the *European* and *American* countries has not understood the case thus, according to appearances, since in all of them it has appealed to violence in formulating its demands, wrongly believing that only by means of force can their aspirations be realized.

On the other hand, the unstable victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia and of the communists in Hungary and of the Spartacans in several regions of the former German empire, especially in Bavaria, has only served to demonstrate the insincerity that lurked in the folds of the banner of social equality, hoisted long ago by the labor elements; since in all the countries where revolutionary socialism has succeeded in dominating and misgoverning, the new regimen has no sooner been victorious that it has established and practised, as a system, the inequality of classes, immediately giving the first place in the order of preference to those who previously had possessed nothing. Thus, for example, in Russia, in order to solve the problem of the lack of provisions, Bolshevism has established the “scale of hunger,” which regulates the right of individuals to nourish themselves, not in proportion to their age, sex, etc., but in virtue of a classification made solely in accordance with the social condition of the inhabitants. Indeed, the people have been grouped in four classes. To the first class (the most favored) belong the manual laborers; to the second, office employees, provided that they do not, in turn, employ the services of others; in the third are included all those persons who have an employee in their service, from the small proprietor who has only one servant, to the manufacturer who gives employment to numerous operatives; and, finally, in the fourth class are included all those who

were formerly "the idle rich," nobles, aristocrats, land-owners, courtiers, and those who receive an income from investments. Those in the first category—and under the express condition of not incurring the ill will of the Bolshevik leaders—"receive a small quantity of food;" those of the second class have at their disposal "less food;" to those of the next group is given "even less food;" and those of the last class may be considered condemned to perishing of hunger; while Lenine, Trotzky and the other leaders of Bolshevism, established in the palaces that belonged to the former dukes of the period of czarism, surrounded by the greatest luxury and pomp, lead a merry and princely life, without feeling any of the straits or suffering any of the great pangs to which the institution of the new system of government, of which they are the chiefs and the supposed apostles, has given rise.

If, too, we leave Russia out of count and fix our eyes upon Hungary, in order to become acquainted with measures adopted there by *communism*, we shall see the vaults of the banks exhausted; their old directors and administrators replaced by ignorant employees of the soviet; the payment of house rent abolished; the estates that were private property taken by the government of which the former proletarians form a part; all service, manufactories, workshops, private enterprises and establishments, nationalized or more properly "communized;" and those who were the bourgeoisie, because they had not misspent their wealth, despoiled of all their goods, proscribed and persecuted with rage.

However, withdrawing our gaze from those frightful pictures, which can hardly be conceived of against the background of Christian civilization, and admitting for an instant that an equalitarian distribution might be effected among the inhabitants of the globe of all the existing wealth and all the present materials of production and of labor, it might be asked of those who base their hopes of well-being upon a more proportionate distribution of capital, if such an equality would subsist when once it were achieved, in view of the undeniable existing inequality in the personal endowments of each individual. From these

endowments, and not exclusively from the marked inequalities in the present distribution of the great fortunes, in truth spring the social inequalities in respect of their economic aspect, and which, properly studied in their nature, enables us to behold, through passions and prejudices, the foundation of reason and the essence of justice.

In order that the general good, the product of a complete equality in the distribution of wealth, might become stable and permanent, it would be necessary that all individuals should be equally apt, capable, active and laborious; but, since personal qualities—intelligence, muscular power, laboriousness, moral constitution, etc., are different, to establish the equalitarian enjoyment of recompense and satisfactions would be a thing as unjust at bottom as is the attempted fixing of wages and salaries themselves in payment of the labor of those who engage in the divers activities and enterprises.

The problem of laborism, considered under its multiple and varied aspects, is so complex that an analytical study of it may not be undertaken in a paper of this kind; and, both because of this circumstance and because our object is to examine it from the Cuban national point of view, we shall have the limit ourselves to making certain remarks upon the serious dangers and injuries involved in class struggles, especially when they do not spring from causes justified by the environment in which they occur, as happens in Cuba, but from prejudices and antagonisms brought from remote regions by those who still harbor in their souls the rancor and bitterness caused in them by the unjust denial of their liberties and individual rights.

The evangelical voice of Martí seems to issue from his tomb to remind our laborers, always so much loved by him, of one of his most sententious and profound phrases:

The people do not rebel against the natural causes of their ill-being, but against those that spring from some disequilibrium of injustice.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>*Granos de Oro; pensamientos seleccionados en las obras de José Martí*, by Rafael G. Argilagos, page 109.—*Author's note.*

See INTER-AMERICA for October, 1918, page 22, the article entitled: *Grains of Gold: Thoughts Selected from the Works of José Martí.*—THE EDITOR.



The hardships which the working classes suffer in Cuba on account of the high cost of living are due to natural causes, they are general and they extend, without exception, to all the social elements. Against these natural causes it is proper to struggle in the effort to remedy them; but without going so far as to rebel against them, and still less by appealing to measures of violence that, in the first place, injure those who employ them, and then affect to the greatest degree those who, because they are totally free of blame, are not responsible for the hardships just mentioned.

The Cuban people—and we use this expression in its most ample sense to comprise not only the lower needy classes, but the totality of persons born in Cuba—is one of the most intelligent, docile and laborious peoples of the earth. Its principal defects—some of them manifest and serious—are almost as nothing as compared with the multitude of their great virtues and good qualities. The greatest and most dangerous of these defects is perhaps due to its frank ingenuousness and docility, which inclines it to let itself be drawn along without a will of its own by the brazen scoundrels who flatter its desires and passions for their own advantage and glory, both in the struggles of politics and in the warfare between capital and labor.

The Cuban people is naturally listless: its will in many directions is negative, and from the acquiescence which it is wont to yield to whatever is attempted or accomplished by those who lead it along evil paths, the advantage has rested with the foreign elements which, after gaining the confidence of the proletarian forces and after winning their praise as the supposed paladins of the great revindication, succeeded in obtaining the upper hand by trickery and in constituting themselves the directors and spokesmen of the laboring classes. For this reason the demands of the latter have not always been just, nor have they accorded with needs actually experienced, nor always been in harmony with the patriotic ideals of the very working classes that made such an important contribution to the gigantic effort put forth by the people of Cuba to obtain its independence and enter upon the or-

derly and peaceful enjoyment of all its liberties.

The participation of anarchistic and unwelcome foreigners in all the existing government régimes, during the recent social strife that has occurred in Cuba, have been clearly demonstrated in the case of the last general strike, set for the patriotic date of May 20, and happily a failure, thanks to the measures of prudent energy employed upon that occasion by the government of the republic, justly alarmed over the frequency and gravity with which the strikes were being repeated,

assuming, under unjustifiable pretexts, the subversive character of general strikes, which suspend, at a given moment and without previous advice, the whole industrial and social activity, with serious detriment not only to the public wealth, but also with injury to all the families, especially to the most needy,

as said the president of the republic in the message he addressed to the national congress, April 7, of the present year.

All the efforts previously put forth by the Cuban government to give to those frequent strikes "peaceful and conciliatory solutions, inspired by its desire to maintain relations of frank cordiality with all the social elements," were vain, because, having interpreted those laudable purposes as signs of weakness and evidences of yielding in the presence of the demands of laborism, its leaders and directors decided to strike a blow, heavier than before, and with frankly revolutionary aims, in order to obtain new advantages and strengthen the positions obtained at the expense of what a daily of Habana has happily called the "inertia of cowardice" of our present society.

The true motives of the movement prepared by the disturbers and its antecedents are described in the message of May 28 last, addressed by the president of the republic, asking for the suspension of constitutional guaranties, a measure that, by the unanimous vote of all political parties represented in the two Cámaras, the legislative power of the nation hastened to authorize.

In this message, the president of the republic presented the following data and considerations, which, because of their

importance and interest, merit transcription:

Four general strikes, in less than a year, and eleven partial strikes, in a little more than three months, the former without justification, and the partial ones without a sufficient cause, outside of certain limits, have already demonstrated, even to the most optimistic, the existence among us of elements of social disturbance, which, in more or less direct contact with anarchist organizations abroad, seek at all hazards to undermine legal order in the republic and greatly to compromise its prosperity and its wealth. The phenomenon occurs today with greater or less gravity among all the nations, and Cuba ought to defend herself like all of them against demagoguery and disorder.

My government has sought more than once, exaggerating moderation and temperance, perhaps, to disarm these machinations, and striving and working, whenever directly or indirectly its interference and counsel have been sought to effect a conciliation and harmonizing of the interests, of capitalists and laborers, opposed according to appearance.

While the problems were confined to or expressed purely economic and industrial differences between workmen and employers, even if the interference of certain agents in starting and developing the conflicts was, to all appearances suspicious, the government has avoided the rigorous application of our existing laws; and, looking forward to the reforms that the legislative power has under study, it has fully recognized the right of laborers to associate themselves and to unite for the defense of their peculiar interests, and that of appealing to the strike when they have thought it proper, well or ill counseled.

Soon it could be noted, however, that not always of this character were the agitations deliberately maintained and fomented by the accustomed directors and sustainers of strikes, the larger part of whom were of foreign nationality and notably addicted to the most disintegrating theories and such as are subversive of all social order.

By my orders a strict vigilance has been exercised over these elements and especially over those of foreign citizenship, and, thanks to it, there have been obtained data and antecedents of positive importance and proven authenticity which have brought me to the conviction that there exists a genuine conspiracy to subvert the constitutional order and the internal peace, paralyzing public service and attacking all the rights that do not yield to the plan of the agitators. With this aim the general strike

was proclaimed, without any ground of an industrial or economic character, by secret committees that are said to be in affiliation with the labor organizations and which, to a considerable extent, the latter blindly obey. The action of the government has been rapid and energetic, and I trust that the measures of precaution and repression which I have ordered and that have been executed with zeal and activity by the authorities and by the police will have dominated, in a short time, the seditious movement which, in the form of a general strike, surprised, almost without warning, the region of this capital. Governmental action, however, encounters obstacles that can be overcome only by means which the constitution of the republic prescribes.

In order to proceed against the foreigners who forgot the duties imposed upon them by their character as such, the right of expulsion that I have exercised and shall exercise whenever it has been or may be necessary is sufficient. The repressive action of the government ought not, however, to be limited to this exceptional remedy. Not a few are the nationals who sharing in the same ideas and letting themselves be carried away by such vagaries, have cooperated in the work of these disturbers. Both in order to direct against them, if it be necessary, the action of the government, with all proper effectiveness, and to carry on the investigations and obtain the proofs that can alone destroy, once for all, the dangerous nuclei in which are produced these periodical conspiracies against the public peace, I need the extraordinary faculties which the constitution has foreseen.

The message closed by saying:

With the protest, which I reiterate, that it is not my intention to use this authorization except in case of manifest necessity, I esteem it my duty to request of the honorable congress that, in consideration of the circumstances and in order to facilitate the complete maintenance of order, it have the goodness to pass a law authorizing me to suspend in all or any part of the national territory the constitutional guaranties established in articles XV, XVII, XIX, XXIII, XXIV and XXVII.

In all the countries, both belligerent and neutral, the same antisocial passions are being stirred to-day, under the direction of secret committees in association with the same centers of disturbance and anarchy. In all of them, the governments utilize for the social defense the extraordinary powers with which they are invested on account of the war or with which they may be invested in order to control and overcome the social danger. Only the Cuban



government would find itself unarmed in the face of this universal conspiracy. I comply with my duty and I discharge my responsibility by soliciting the authorization which by the present message I ask of you. From the wisdom and patriotism of the honorable congress I confidently hope that it will not be denied me.

The imprisonment of the turbulent and disturbing elements of greatest importance and the expulsion of some ninety foreigners, in the main Spaniards, considered pernicious because of their anarchistic tendency in the ranks of the labor collectivities have again brought tranquillity to the country and reestablished normal conditions in all the enterprises and industries inexcusably paralyzed, without having produced the sanguinary results to which the intervention of force to maintain order and defend republican institutions would necessarily have given rise, in case the plans of the disturbers should have been accomplished.

If it were possible to draw a veil over the past, and, attentive only to the present, look to the future in order to improve the lessons received and utilize in their own behalf the fruits of bitter experience, our working classes ought to meditate seriously upon their interests, to-day compromised, and seek new ways for the accomplishment of their desires and aspirations for improvement. If the next definitive advent of peace permits a return to tranquillity of spirit, the clearing of bewildered minds and the awaking of inert hearts again to sentiments of wholesome patriotism, our workmen, like those of many other countries, will be convinced of their past mistakes, and they will seek to correct them for their own good.

The just and most prominent of the errors consists in the extemporaneousness of the demands made by the proletariat in order to obtain an increase of all wages, just when the termination of the great war, carried on for more than four years, abolished the principal causes that gave rise to the high cost of living. Such an undertaking might have been explicable at the commencement of the war or in its critical period, a year after it was begun, when its demands and the uncertainty of its results seemed to involve all the peoples

of the earth, and especially those of the belligerent countries, in a sea of doubt and desperation, with a manifest scarcity of commodities of all kinds and a notable advance in the cost of provisions. Nevertheless, the workmen did not then make their demands, but they shared resignedly with the other social classes the infinite privations and miseries, to end by formulating them at the conclusion of the great struggle, as if there existed a perverse plan to make the causes that produced the general want, which otherwise would have been passing and transitory, permanent and final.

The greatest of those mistakes, however—although perhaps the least visible—rests upon the belief, deeply rooted but absurd, that an increase of wages and salaries is the only effective and rapid means of meeting the increased expenses which the present scarcity of houses, food, clothing, footwear, and, in general, articles of all kinds, imposes upon the labor elements, as well as upon the other social classes. A crass and profound error that takes heavy toll of those who fall into it through ignorance or foreign suggestions!

It being, indeed an established truth that all increase in salaries, by raising the price of the manual labor upon any article or product whatsoever involves and produces as a result a greater scarcity, not only in the objects of the industry affected, but also in many others that are related to it, it is not necessary to exercise a great effort to prove that the system is counter-productive.

The laborer, as a rule, when he obtains a greater return for his work—as happens frequently after those prolonged strike movements that do so much harm to those who maintain them—believes he has obtained a positive benefit, without pausing to think that the increase in wages of two, three or four *pesos* which he receives at the end of each week usually causes an increase in his necessary fixed expenses, which perhaps exceed four or five *pesos* a week. It is a negative result through unconscious variations in the values of the minuend and subtrahend.

In truth, for every increase in wages, there is always a corresponding increase in the

price of commodities or of service, based upon the higher cost of the products of labor. Therefore, when the stevedores along the water front obtain a raise in their wages, as also when this apparent benefit is secured by the employees of railways, steamers or street-car lines, or operatives engaged in the clothing, footwear or building industries, etc., the industrial, the merchant and the operator raise in turn the prices or rates in order to avoid being losers; and as every one needs a roof over his head, clothing for himself and those dependent upon him, shoes for his feet, food for his stomach and means of transportation, the laborer spends, cent by cent, whenever he buys anything or accepts any service, the *pesos* that were paid to him at the end of each week as an increase in wages.

As it is impossible for me to touch upon all the industries or even the most important ones of our country, among which is the elaboration of tobacco, brought almost to the verge of ruin by the exactions of the workers who demand new increases of rates in payment for their tasks, we must not fail to say something about the industries connected with the construction of buildings, inasmuch as they have to do with a grave problem—that of the scarcity of residences—and also in order to point out the consequences which the last strikes of the bricklayers, carpenters, mechanics, painters and other workmen of the building trades have produced upon the general cost of living.

It is at once apparent that the rise in the cost of construction through the increase in the price of labor—which in turn determines that of certain materials of national manufacture—has an immediate effect of the greatest moment upon the sale and rental of property, in view of the fact that the capital invested must yield a definite interest; and since, with the rise in the value of the new constructions, there is also an increase in that of the old ones, as buildings that are similar and located in the same places must necessarily produce equal returns, it is axiomatic that all rentals advance with the increase in value of such properties. If to the causes noted be added the scarcity in the number

of places designed for residences, because of circumstances it would be superfluous to enumerate, the increase in rent, which is not a local but a universal problem at the present moment, is explained and justified.

However, the progressive increase of city rentals is not the only result of the higher cost of construction, the product in turn of an increase in wages: the problem is much more profound and complex, if we consider that the sellers of all the articles of consumption, whose establishments are forced to pay the enormous rentals and greatly increased incidental expenses of their respective locations, charge on this account an appreciable per cent. upon the value of each article sold, which is a new cause of general shortage, since there is no article exempt from this indirect tax. It is therefore undeniable—although the workmen of the building trades have not thought of it—that a good part of the wages earned to-day is lost upon each commercial transaction that is effected, however small it be.

Does what has been set forth above mean that wages must remain unchanged, or that it would be proper to give up the increases obtained at the cost of prolonged strikes and cruel struggles? By no means could such conclusions be reached as a consequence of the premises set forth: what has been said demonstrates only that the labor collectivities ought to study more minutely and conscientiously their problems, while seeking the betterment of their conditions through the reduction of their expenses, which is a positive advantage, instead of working merely for an increase in their incomes, which often is only an imaginary benefit.

The undeniable proof of the efficacy of the system hitherto practised is the prevailing ill-being among the laboring classes because of the existing scarcity, in spite of the high wages or compensation which they receive and which provides them with incomes greater than those received by almost all persons of the middle class, by the most of the employees who work for a fixed salary in public and private offices, and, in many cases, by even those in the professions, who, because they are men with



careers, are invariably considered as "rentiers" or the "bourgeoisie."<sup>5</sup>

There exists a third solution, different from any hitherto attempted and from the one suggested above, for improving the economic condition of the working classes, and to it we must refer, in spite of the resentment or opposition with which we imagine it will perhaps be received: it is based upon an increase in incomes by lengthening the hours of work. This measure is unpopular in the ranks of the proletariat, because their progressive desire to earn more is in direct proportion to their aspiration to work less. Nevertheless, a greater effort on the part of the laborer to increase his pay—when it is based upon hours of labor—by which he would accomplish a greater daily task would involve a sure and positive increase in his income to no insignificant degree, and this would contribute to relieve his needs and diminish his hardships. After all, it is the means put into practice by those who at present enjoy a small salary—not increased in the last eight years, in spite of a rise of sixty per cent. in the cost of living—to meet their pressing expenses, without having recourse to dishonor or indolently resigning themselves to want; and, finally, this elevating method of working more in order to earn more is the one that is being practised by

professional men, a greatly increased number of whom are in the habit of working harder with their bodies than many laborious workmen throughout a day that not infrequently begins at sunrise and ends when the night is well advanced, with the exhaustion of their powers and the loss of sleep.

Therefore let the solution of the labor problem, which affects and injures every one, be in an adequate legislation that shall meet the just desires of the proletariat; let the conditions of labor in all factories and workshops be guaranteed from the viewpoint of hygiene, which is of such importance to the health of the laborer; let the exploitation of wage-earners, especially of women and children, be avoided; let there be established courts of arbitration for the peaceful solution of the differences that arise between employers and employees, whose interests are common, although in appearance they seem to be opposed; let the relations between capital and labor be so regulated as to prevent serious conflict; and, last of all, let the instruction of a certain number of apprentices in all workshops and factories be made compulsory, without any exception whatsoever, in order to prevent the continuance of the irritating exclusion of them for the benefit of a fixed number of artisans in each trade, who fear the competition that might be caused them by new and more skilful workmen.

In conclusion, let the periods of material tranquillity—and perhaps of moral as well—which seem to have been caused by the energetic repression of the last agitations due to revolutionary laborism, be well improved; and the greatest of the victories that can to-day be obtained in all the realms of life will have been achieved: to guarantee the right to obtain the triumph of justice by force.

<sup>5</sup>According to reliable data of easy verification, the wages paid to-day in Cuba to artisans and workmen vary between the \$9.00 and \$10.00 a day earned by the coopers for work done by the piece; the \$5.00 or \$7.00 a day, usually earned by workers in the tobacco industry for their tasks; and the \$2.75, \$3.00 or \$4.00 earned by mediocre bricklayers, carpenters, mechanics, painters, etc., since experts in these trades demand a higher pay for their work, which they accomplish in a maximum day of eight hours, and which are not always well employed. In farm labor, good workmen have been able to obtain a remuneration of from \$4.00 to \$6.00 a day, according to the locality. The ordinary hands in the principal trades commonly earn \$2.00, \$2.40 or \$2.50 a day.



# LIMA<sup>1</sup>

BY

C. M.

"*Sunt sua nomina rebus*:" how the mere sound of Lima conjures up the things for which it stands! It revives the golden past; it brings back childhood's first lessons in the history and geography of the southern half of the American continent; it is a stage across which stalk the mail-clad heroes of triumphant Spain; and, while not the ancient capital of that mysterious and legendary federation or despotism ruled by the Incas, inevitably Atahualpa and his vanquished and despoiled peoples come for a moment from the limbo of oblivion, as dusky and pathetic shadows, when we see or hear that name.

Lima, however, is not alone the "City of the Kings," the abode of secular traditions; she is also a potent, thriving, resourceful municipal and commercial organism, and the center of a prosperous and hopeful nation of incalculable potentialities. It is to both these aspects of the city that the author of the following article addresses himself in a simple and direct manner.—THE EDITOR.

FEW foreigners visit the interior of Perú to-day, but many of those who travel along the coast of the Pacific visit Lima, the city of the kings.

The port Callao, which is only thirteen kilometers from the capital of Perú, is the chief point of access. It has the best facilities of the modern commercial port that are to be found along the western coast of South America. Callao has a population of 35,000 inhabitants, and it is a very active and cosmopolitan city. Many people who do business in Callao reside in Lima, so that this port may with propriety be considered a suburb or maritime quarter of Lima.

There are three means of transportation between the two cities, for, besides the ancient highway, there exist the steam railway and the electric lines. The visitor naturally takes the electric line, which has its terminal station at the port itself, and half an hour later he reaches the city of the kings, getting out at the station, erected upon a broad plaza in which coaches or automobiles may be taken for the center of the city.

Lima is situated in an undulating valley, which extends from the ocean toward the interior for a distance of eighty and a half kilometers to the foot of the Andes, although numerous peaks lift their heads along the valley, and two of which—San Cristóbal and San Jerónimo—dominate the city. Beginning with the rivulets that rise

in the region of perpetual snow, the river Rímac flows through this valley, serpentine to the sea at Callao. The Rímac passes through Lima and the city's greatest urban development is on the southern bank of the river, which is provided with several bridges over which moves a constant traffic.

Almost four centuries have passed since Pizarro laid the foundations of the cathedral in the square known even to-day as the Plaza Mayor. Lima, with its population of 200,000<sup>2</sup> inhabitants, has increased gradually to its present dimensions. The city had originally the form of a gigantic triangle, whose hypotenuse was formed by the river Rímac. It was Pizarro who gave it the name of the city of the kings as a title of honor in behalf of his royal patrons, and little by little the native name has become more and more popular.

The streets of Lima are laid out in parallels from the northeast to southwest, with streets crossing at right angles. Although the streets are narrow (from ten to fifteen meters), many plazas and other open spaces contribute to the comfort of the city. From the beginning of 1535, the city has passed through all the phases and episodes of the sensational turmoils and struggles that its history records. For three hundred years this city of the kings was the second metropolis of the Spanish dominion in two continents, and it was the center of a viceroyalty whose splendor rivaled even that of royalty itself.

<sup>1</sup>One of a series of articles upon the great Spanish-American cities. See INTER-AMERICA for August, 1919, page 359, for an article by the same author upon Rio de Janeiro.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup>No recent census has been taken, but reliable estimates give the present population at approximately 300,000.—THE EDITOR.



In 1821, after a period of rebellion against the Spanish government and a struggle for freedom, the independence of Perú was officially proclaimed; and in 1823, the first president of the republic was elected, subsequent to the adoption of a constitution founded upon democratic principles and upon the division of the political power into the three usual branches: legislative, executive and judicial.

#### MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Perú is divided politically into departments or states and provinces, and one of the former, which bears the name of Lima, contains in its district the capital of the republic. The departments are administered by functionaries called prefects, just as the provinces are governed by subprefects and the districts and cities have governors and mayors. The prefects and subprefects are appointed by the president of the republic, and he can dismiss them from the service at will.

In 1535, Pizarro created the first municipal organization to administer the affairs of the city, and he appointed a mayor for the purpose. As the city developed, the authority of the mayor as the executive power grew, but the institution of the *cabildo*,<sup>3</sup> as it was called, continued in force during the colonial period, and, indeed, until 1857. In that year the *cabildo* or *ayuntamiento*<sup>4</sup> of Lima, was converted into a municipal council, according to the ordinary methods of modern administration.

In theory, the municipality has under its charge and governs more or less directly all the communal affairs, including the police, public health, the opening and paving of streets, the water supply, the ordinances that regulate construction, markets, lighting, etc. At the head of the government of Lima is the *alcalde* and the municipal council. There are forty councilmen and they are elected by the several districts of the city, by the direct suffrage of all the citizens, and which, according to the law of 1892, is extended to all for-

eigners of more than twenty-one years who conduct a business, exercise a profession or possess property within the municipal bounds.

From what has been said, it may be deduced that the city of Lima, besides being the capital of the nation, is also the capital of the department of the same name; so that all the affairs of the republic, of the department and of the municipality are administered in Lima. Because of this and of the fact that the residence of the president of the republic and of the legislative bodies of the nation are here, the tendency to nationalize and extend the city is not surprising.

#### THE CITY

Let us fancy that we are visiting the smiling capital of Perú. Our point of departure is the Plaza Mayor, which is the part of the city whence radiates at present all the urban life, as it radiated in the past. The considerable area of this popular meeting place abounds in historical recollections of the great events that occurred there. On one side of this plaza arises, with its solid twin towers, the grandiose cathedral, whose first stone Pizarro himself laid, as history relates. Next to it is the site of the house where the conqueror breathed his last when the assassin gave him his death blow. In the cathedral are preserved the remains of Pizarro—a much wrinkled but well preserved mummy.

Occupying all the north side of the Plaza Mayor, stands the Palacio Histórico, a massive building, typically low, with several patios and halls and many rooms that formerly sheltered the viceroys, with their families and retinues. To-day this building contains the offices of the government. Its military aspect is heightened by the sentinels in uniform who are constantly on guard. The other sides of the Plaza Mayor are occupied by the city hall and by business establishments whose first story is used for shops, cafés, restaurants, etc., while in the upper stories are casinos and clubs, as well as private apartments. As may be gathered from the preceding description, the Plaza Mayor of Lima is a most animated spectacle and one that can be enjoyed by day and by night. Among the beautiful flowers and foliage of the gar-

<sup>3</sup>See INTER-AMERICA for February, 1918, page 148.  
—THE EDITOR.

<sup>4</sup>The corporation composed of the *alcalde* or mayor and the several *concejales* or councilmen who administer the affairs of a city or groups of cities taken together.—THE EDITOR.

dens that decorate it, loiterers seat themselves upon chairs, read the papers or listen to the music of the band, while the busy multitude goes in and out of the post-office and the adjoining public buildings. From this center, the lines of electric railways go toward all parts of the city, and carriages and automobiles are at hand for every kind of business or diversion.

At a short distance, located in another charming spot, called Plaza de Bolívar, rise the two buildings that house the Peruvian congress. Especially historic is the senate chamber, which occupies the old palace of the inquisition. A notable contrast with this historical precedent is the use of electricity for voting. By the use of a simple mechanism, it is sufficient for the Peruvian senator to press a button upon his desk in order that his vote may be recorded upon a disk near the presidential table.

Near the Plaza Mayor, or not far away, there are many churches and convents, the most famous of which are those of San Francisco, La Merced, San Agustín and Santo Domingo. In the city there are sixty-seven churches.

The larger number of the ancient residences of Lima are typical edifices in the Andalusian style, of one story, with a central patio as the most marked characteristic. Opening upon this patio are the different rooms of the house. The patio is embellished with plants and flowers and often with a tree or two. Birds and domestic animals of all kinds are not wanting. Gratings in front of the windows are common. Many of the houses of the upper classes are of two stories, with balconies in front.

#### INSTITUTIONS OF CULTURE

An interesting book might be written upon the vicissitudes of the city's ancient institutions of learning and particularly upon the oldest university of all America, the famous Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, which, beyond question, is the first university of the new continent, established a century before John Harvard caused, by the donation of his library in Cambridge, the creation of the famous university that bears his name, the first

founded in the United States. Earthquakes and wars have more than once injured or destroyed the buildings of this institution, but its conspicuous teaching staff, instituted in 1551, continues to-day, although modernized, improved and broadened in many ways. The university is made up of schools or faculties of law, medicine, literature, theology and the political sciences.

There are not lacking in Lima, naturally, other centers of learning that offer courses in engineering, mining, agriculture and the military and naval sciences; and the *Escuela de Artes y Oficios*,<sup>5</sup> recently established.

One of the most notable institutions of Perú is the Museo Nacional, which is something unique of its kind, and one of the most interesting museums in the world, rivaling the museum of Cairo in the exposition of the different episodes and aspects of the life and activity of the extinct races. Many of its relics are of inestimable value, and the vast collection is constantly being enriched, as the venerable ruins that are to be found in the different parts of the republic are excavated and classified.

#### CITY LIFE

Lima is not only the political capital, but also the commercial capital of Perú; and thus the great animation presented by its streets is not to be wondered at. Large export and import houses are located in the capital, and their business naturally attracts an army of traders from all the countries of the world. During one of the last normal years, there entered Callao more than fourteen hundred steamships and sailing vessels, with freight that was in large measure transported far inland along the railway beyond Lima toward the mountains. On the other hand, there passes through Lima, returning to the markets of the world, a great commerce in raw material. Cotton, flour, furniture, chocolate, cocaine, footwear, silk and woollen fabrics, paper, leather, together with other manufactures, contribute greatly to the

<sup>5</sup>The manual training school: it has made rapid progress and is doing excellent work. It is particularly efficient in its departments of sculpture and architecture.—THE EDITOR.



flourishing trade of the city and its suburbs.

The parks and places of recreation of the capital are numerous and well provided with communications by electric tramways. Chorrillos, Barranco, Miraflores, La Punta, etc., offer to the lovers of the ocean magnificent opportunities for maritime sports or baths, and indeed many citizens have permanent houses along the bay of Chorrillos famous for its regattas. On the other hand, when the clouds of winter cover the coast region, many of the inhabitants of the capital find particularly attractive the sunny climate of Chosica, a locality some fifty kilometers toward the interior, among the foothills of the Andes, near the Oroya railway.

Horse-racing is a favorite diversion in Lima, from July until November, and it is witnessed by the president and principal dignitaries. It is carried on under the auspices of the Jockey Club, one of the most distinguished recreational societies of Perú. Passing over the numerous clubs for regattas, foot-ball, tennis and other sports, one of the most recent and popular organizations of this kind is devoted to aviation, an art in which a certain number of Peruvian aviators have been distinguished, among which Jorge Chaves, the daring champion who sacrificed his life in his triumphant crossing of the Andes,<sup>6</sup> deserves special mention here.

#### PARKS AND DRIVES

In 1870 Lima held an exposition and, as is the custom in such cases, there were constructed upon all chosen grounds a certain number of buildings for exhibitions and congresses. This gave rise to the development of a suburb, to-day called the Parque de la Exposición, where, in the midst of enchanting gardens are the dwellings of many of the most distinguished families of Lima at present. The park, properly speaking, covers twelve hectares and it is provided with beautiful drives, lakes and artificial grottos, flower gardens and other attractions for the multitudes, who,

particularly during the good weather, are wont to gather there,

Beginning with this park, there extends a handsome drive known as the Paseo Colón. It is sixteen hundred meters long and forty-five meters wide, terminating in the new plaza Bolognesi.<sup>7</sup> On each side of this splendid drive rise magnificent edifices, and in the middle of the central avenue extends, from one end to the other, a bed of flowers, whence arise at intervals statues and monuments, commemorative of the heroes of the history of Perú. A certain number of arches that span this drive to support the electric lights, make it especially attractive at night, when it is quite animated and thronged by the best society. Another charming drive is the Avenida Magdalena, which unites the city with the maritime town of Magdalena, situated about four kilometers and a half from the capital. The city proper contains some thirty-five gardens in the plazas formed by the intersection of the streets, and they offer agreeable places for rest and recreation for the public.

#### CULTURE

Lima has numerous societies devoted to scientific investigation, historical and social questions, literature, art, etc. The famous Sociedad Geográfica has performed many important services in behalf of the exploration and study of the ruinous ancient cities of the Andes, as also of the cartography of the country and of other enterprises, its meetings being among the chief events of the intellectual life of Lima. Other associations devote themselves to medicine, engineering, agriculture, music and other activities, thus maintaining an active and fruitful intercourse between the professional people of Lima.

As a means of enlightenment, not only of the capital, but likewise of all Perú, it is impossible to exaggerate the value of the press. Lima is the center of a great number of daily, weekly and monthly publications. The oldest of them is *El Comercio*, a daily founded in 1839. Although the majority of the newspapers of Lima

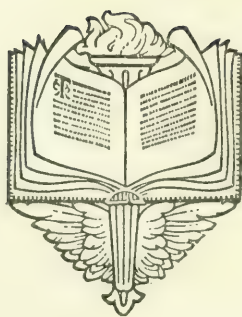
<sup>6</sup>The author has doubtless mistaken the Andes for the Alps, as this aviator lost his life in his descent after successfully crossing the Alps between France and Italy.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>7</sup>Named thus in honor of Colonel Francisco Bolognesi, who achieved renown in the war of the Pacific (1879-1881) between Perú and Bolivia, on the one hand, and Chile, on the other, and to whom a statue has been erected.—THE EDITOR.

are published in Spanish, there are, besides, some that have columns or pages in other languages. Several societies and academies of Perú also have their respective reviews that reflect the activities and progress of their different bodies.

The city of the kings belongs to the past, and the new Lima is a reality that is growing up with its face toward the future. Modern influences have reached here more slowly than in other countries of America favored by a more abundant current of

a too rapid immigration. It is well then not to overlook the fact that, although in many respects beneficial, it is in others doubtless prejudicial. From the beginning of the war, great economic changes have arisen there also. With the increase of commerce, the Peruvians have become rich, as is reflected in their economic and financial institutions; and the increasing universal demand for the raw materials that the Peruvian soil offers gives promise for the future of this wealthy country.





# THE POPULAR FESTIVAL OF SAN PEDRO AND SAN PABLO IN GUAYAQUIL

BY

JOSÉ ANTONIO CAMPOS

The following two additional sketches from the Ecuadorian journalist and humorist give a further insight into his characteristic vein. In the first of them he presents and excoriates a national pastime, common among the lower people, while graphically describing the traits and equestrian abilities of the *montuvio* or cowboy. In the second are whimsically exhibited a salesman's perseverance, garrulousness and untrustworthiness, as a means of applying a maxim of politics.—THE EDITOR.

IT IS a custom to celebrate the popular festival of San Pedro and San Pablo in the Sabana Grande with an equestrian frenzy.

I say *equestrian* frenzy, for it is now well known that this is the hippic festival par excellence: everyone who wishes to celebrate it and to contribute to the honor and glory of the holy apostles must go on horseback, or, lacking a horse, he must mount the first ass he chances upon, and set out at a gallop like the cosacks of the plains.

We are not sure whether San Pedro and San Pablo were distinguished for their skill in horsemanship, or whether they devoted themselves to veterinary surgery, which is a kindred branch, but this is the way we are hereabouts—singular in our devotions.

San Jacinto, who was never given to pyrotechnics, we, in company with the Chinese, must needs toast with fireworks, on the day of his festival; in honor of the Virgin of Mercies, who, according to our lights, was never anti-Semitic, we burn a Jew in effigy, on the eve of September 24.

The day of San Pedro and San Pablo is the day for the martyrdom of beasts of the horse, mule or ass kind.

All the *Rocinantes*,<sup>1</sup> fallen into desuetude, are permitted to appear in this classic event, and the rendezvous is the Sabana Grande.

Horses and horsemen have to pay the penalty, if they wish to contribute to the

splendor of the festival, but, since, as more often happens, the former are not built for such tours, and the latter are not accustomed to the saddle, it turns out that the mounts become galled on top and the riders underneath. However, all this, it is said, adds to the diversion and to the . . . devotion.

The saints, who know all things from their eternal mansion of the blessed, probably behold and appreciate all these double and inverse excoriations.

The only ones that come off whole are our *montuvios*, who, to tell the truth, are not outdone by the Venezuelan *llaneros* or the Argentine *gauchos*.

Give a *montuvio* a half broken mule: he is in his element, and you will see him transfigured. He puts on him one of the great, broad pummeled saddles of national manufacture, with long leathers, from which hang enormous metal stirrups; sets brutal bits in his mouth and tightens the martingale until the neck of the animal is given a curve of sixty degrees; attaches the indispensable cotton saddle-bags of the coast, of vivid tint and finished with tassels and a fringe; coils at the head of the saddle twenty or twenty-five fathoms of rope; and then mounts, displaying wide pantaloons of cloth, girded at the waist with a long belt, from which hangs a ponderous *machete*; a starched shirt without a collar, a poncho as ample as a choir cloak, a wide-brimmed *manabita*<sup>2</sup> hat, called a "singing oven" by the common people, and finally,

<sup>1</sup>From being the name of don Quijote's famous steed, this word has come to be applied to any broken-down or weather-beaten hack.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>2</sup>From the Ecuadorian province of Manabí; one of the numerous kinds of "Panamá" fiber hats.—THE EDITOR.

the inevitable "snoring"<sup>3</sup> spurs, bound tight, "as hard as a knot," to the bare feet.

There you have the type.

Add, to complete the figure: a *bejuco de montaña*,<sup>4</sup> two yards long, by way of a hunting-crop, in his right hand; a Daulean<sup>5</sup> cigar between his teeth; and a bottle of *aguardiente* in his stomach.

These are the equipment of the man and his beast that, from the moment they set out together, form a single creature.

The mule may caper and cut up to his heart's content: run away, kick, roll over on the ground. One of our countrymen hardly notices these details. What you see is that he always stays on top.

The only time he becomes disturbed is when his hat falls off.

The *montuvio* has an infinite affection for his hat, however old or worthless it may be.

He would expose his life a thousand times rather than run the risk of losing his hat.

If it falls in the water, he plunges into the most dangerous current to recover it; if he is pursued by justice, and, during the flight his hat escapes him, he turns squarely around, goes back, secures it . . . and lets himself be captured. Finally, when he gets drunk and goes to sleep outdoors, a relation or a friend who thinks something of him takes charge of his hat and keeps it for him, lest he lose it.

Nothing is more wonderful than to see a *montuvio* drunk on horseback; this is an inexplicable mystery.

If you took him off his horse and put him on the ground, you may be certain he would not be able to stand alone, for he would fall in a heap; but on horseback: that is a different affair.

Anything may occur except a tumble.

He may sway like a ship in the midst of a storm, it is true; every minute it may look as if he were going to hit the earth; but when he loses his equilibrium, he instinctively recovers his center of gravity.

If he drops his cigar or his matches, he

<sup>3</sup>From the sound the rowels make as they drag over the pavement.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>4</sup>A springy stick cut from the mountain thicket.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>5</sup>From Daule, an Ecuadorian town in the tobacco region.—THE EDITOR.

picks them off the ground without dismounting—performing prodigies of horsemanship, to all appearances with the greatest ease—as if they were at his side on a table.

These are the heroes of the festival of San Pedro and San Pablo, the only ones who survive all the numbers on the program.

On the other hand, however, the extemporaneous horsemen, who constitute the majority, are the ones who, every fifteen minutes, go over the ears of their mounts with no end of bruised ribs, as they are also the ones who receive by the dozen the kicks of the asses, who can no longer endure the canings upon their withered rumps.

So much for all this; what do you suppose is going on in the Sabana Grande? Why all this vast pilgrimage across the pampa scorched by the sun?

It is to see half a dozen miserable houses decked out in colored rags; to swallow a great quantity of the dust raised by the horses; to expose yourself to being trampled by untamed brutes and to being burnt up by the fiery rays of the orb of day.

The hurdy-gurdies and the guitars gladden the festival, *aguardiente* dominates the situation, and in some of the huts and cabins they seem to be dancing, but they are not dancing, they are only reeling; and sometimes they seem to be singing, but they are not singing, they are only moaning or howling.

The *great attraction*<sup>6</sup> consists at such times of the decapitation of the cocks.

This diversion arouses immense enthusiasm, except, be it said, among the cocks that are going to lose their heads. These unhappy fowls are buried alive, in holes that deprives them of all movement, only their heads, from where their necks begin, being left out.

It makes your flesh creep to see these cocks' heads showing just above the ground. They look like diabolical plants endowed with spontaneous movement, with their blood-shot eyes that stare out terrified from beneath congested combs.

A line is drawn twenty paces from a buried cock. The eyes of the man who is going to enter the game are bandaged.

<sup>6</sup>English in the original.—THE EDITOR.



Then he advances blindly, counting to himself the twenty steps that separate him from the head of the cock. At the end of his count, he bends over and sweeps the ground with his sharp machete.

If the unhappy creature happens to be within the radius of the stroke, the cock is the same as a soul in the other world.

If the first contestant does not succeed, another begins, under the same conditions, and then in succession, until the arrival of one who has the good fortune to decapitate the fowl.

Then is heard a roar of applause; shouts of merriment resound on all sides; and the hero of this shocking feat of savagery is as puffed up and proud as the knights of the Middle Ages who overcame wild beasts in the circus, in sight of noble ladies and gallant paladins.

The assassin of the cock—let us say, like the knights of old—is wont to have a dame of his fancies, who turns out to be a

dummy *cholita*,<sup>7</sup> redolent of fish, in a white dress, red stockings, mulberry-colored mantlelet and a hat of *jipijapa*.<sup>8</sup>

Toward her advances the gallant, filled with love and tenderness, bearing her, as a most elegant present, the head of the cock, dripping blood. . . .

The damsel of the Sabana receives it as if it were a flower, and she rewards with a tender glance, full of promise, the noble prowess of her adorer.

Then the *aguardiente* circulates and the festival continues.

Is this a diversion?

Some say it is.

<sup>7</sup>The feminine diminutive of the adjective *cholo*, a mestizo of European and Indian parents; it is also used by women as an expression of affection.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>8</sup>Derived from the Ecuadorian town of Jipijapa: a fine, flexible and very tenacious strand, drawn from the leaf of the screw-pine (*Carludovica palmata*), and used for weaving the highest grade of so-called "Panamá" hats.—THE EDITOR.

## GUARANTEED TIMEPIECES

**Y**ES, señor," I said to myself, "I wish to buy a guaranteed timepiece that will last and that will indicate the exact hour all the time."

With this object in view I went straight to the watchmaker's in my village, and I asked the owner himself to show me one of the most guaranteed timepieces he had.

"Oh!" he said to me, removing his monocle, "I have several superior ones."

"Well, then, let us see!"

"Do you wish one for the pocket, for the table or for the wall?"

"Man, if you will only tell me which are the best!"

"Those for the pocket, for example, have the advantage that they can be carried very conveniently in the pocket!"

"I understand."

"Those for the table are splendid. They are intended to be put on the table."

"I comprehend."

"And those that go on the wall are excellent; for they can be hung on the wall."

"Astonishing! Then let us see one of

those that go on the wall and let it be the most thoroughly guaranteed possible."

"I have some admirable ones. Some that date from the beginning of the century have just arrived at this exact moment, and, after seeing them, there is nothing to be desired. But how do you wish it, with escapement or with weights?"

"Which are better?"

"In those with escapement the mechanism operates by means of an escape, and in those with weights by means of weights."

"I think one with weights would be better because I should not be robbed of it so easily."

"Give yourself no care. These watches that I sell no one would rob you of, for they are very thoroughly guaranteed."

"Yes? Then give me one with escapement so that it may escape all danger."

"Do you wish it silent or with a bell?"

"It would be a great happiness to me to possess one with the bell that goes with it."

"I have bells of every tone. Which do you prefer?"

"I suppose it would be better to have

one of good tone, in order that it may cut a fine figure before people of good tone."

"I have also those with a dove that announces you the hour by cooing."

"And haven't you by chance one with a dove that can give me money instead of cooing me the hour?"

"They are going to arrive soon."

"Well, suppress the bird for the present; because I have read in a newspaper that Leo XIII had one with a dove, and that it cooed to him a short time before his last hour, which is the worst hour of all."

"Will you take it harmonic?"

"What do you mean by harmonic?"

"With music!"

"No; it is better to let the music go somewhere else."

"With an alarm or without it?"

"Without it; for I have a very good cock that, without winding, awakens me at four in the morning."

"Will you have it with Roman or Arabic numbers?"

"What I wish is to finish up this business soon; my blood is beginning to get heated."

"How would you prefer to have the face: dull, polished, enameled, white or colored?"

"However you please."

"I have some with beautiful faces: opaque in the day time only; luminous in the dark. They are admirable!"

"Enough, man!"

"What timepieces they are, señor! Also I have them with movable figures: a young lady, for example, who winks her eyes, lifts the edge of her skirt, lowers it and then disappears."

"Will it be a girl of merry life?"

"No; it is of pasteboard, but marvelous."

"It would be better for you to bring me several at once, so that I may choose."

"With a calendar?"

"Good; but at once."

"Here it is."

"At last."

"This watch is the last word in the horological art."

"How much is it worth?"

"Do but look at it! It is a marvel!"

"How much is it worth?"

"A better has never been seen."

"I say, how much is it worth?"

"Since it is for you."

"But if you do not know me, man! You would sell it to me at the same price you would to the Moor Muza."

"Well and good. Take it for fifty *sucres*. I am giving it to you at that."

"It will not stop, will it?"

"Never; it is guaranteed."

A week later.

"I come, master, to tell you that the watch has stopped."

"And why?"

"How do I know? I wind it and it does not run!"

"That's the way it is with all those I have here; without knowing how or why they go wrong, and afterward the devil himself can not mend them."

"But didn't you tell me that it was a guaranteed marvel?"

The fact is, timepieces are like political candidates. When their partisans exhibit them, all are guaranteed, but they enter power and in a week they break a spring and are worth nothing. Afterward not even the devil can mend them!

To trust guaranteed timepieces!





# THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN ARGENTINA

BY

RUFINO BLANCO-FOMBONA

This is the continuation of the subject begun in the article entitled, "The Struggle for Independence in Argentina: Philosophical Ideas," which was published in the June, 1919, number of INTER-AMERICA. It is a study of: first, "political ideas;" second, "other distinguishing characteristics of the revolution in the south;" third, "Argentine anarchy: the lack of a hero;" fourth, "Argentine anarchy: the disintegration of the state." The documentation is very full—another evidence of the writer's broad acquaintance with history—covering every point; and, while it seems to sustain his theories and contentions, some of which many will naturally be disposed to challenge and even to dispute, upon patriotic grounds, if upon no other, there is cause for regret, in a work of such a character, what may be deemed an occasional manifestation of warmth. Apart from this, however, the author has produced a novel essay full of social instruction, incidentally performing the not inconsiderable feat of covering a long, momentous and none too readily comprehensible a period of history in what, to the historian, will seem an extremely brief compass.—THE EDITOR.

## I

### POLITICAL IDEAS

THE stubborn monarchism of the rulers of Buenos Aires is one of the idiosyncrasies of the revolution in the south.

What was absurd and disconcerting in the Bonaerensian<sup>1</sup> politicians of the period did not consist in their being monarchical. Monarchy is a form of government like any other, and in its time it was a political advance over feudalism. To the audacity, intelligence and ambition of certain monarchs is due the unity, the existence, of several states. What was absurd and disconcerting in those Bonaerensian politicians consisted in their addressing themselves to the past and not to the future, and, above all, in their going from court to court in search of a king who was not to be found, and in their offering the country to foreigners like merchandise.

It may be said that, in order to find a king, it was necessary to look for him, and to look for him outside of the country, inasmuch as they had no candidates at home, and they did not desire—which would have been preferable—to set up creole monarchies, like the empire of Iturbide in México; but could they logically be found with ease? Did not the repeated failures

in the search for princes teach that no European prince was going to assume charge of a transatlantic and semi-barbaric kingdom in complete anarchy and at the risk, for the king, of his crown and his head? Had not the revolution been accomplished, besides, by obliterating our dependence upon Europe and by breaking with what those European princes signified in themselves and with regard to us? Could the people, perhaps, be depended upon? Was not that people saying, by the mouth of some of its provincial leaders, like Artigas<sup>2</sup> and Ramírez,<sup>3</sup> that it did not desire foreign princes? Nevertheless, this solicitude for foreign kings and protectors seems to have been continuous in the Argentine revolution, from its beginning to Ayacucho.<sup>4</sup>

From 1807 the Argentines modestly

<sup>2</sup>In the instructions of the year 1813 that Artigas gave to the Uruguayan deputies who were to take part in the congress of the United Provinces, we read: "They will not accept, as a substitute for the abolished régime, any but the republican form of government."

<sup>3</sup>When Ramírez, the leader of Santa Fe, came down upon Buenos Aires, attacked the troops of the capital, overthrew them at Cepeda and brought to earth the director, Rondeau, he believed and said that he was going to save the country from the central government, the directorate and the congress, "which agree with the Cortes of Portugal, Spain, France and England upon the coronation of a European prince on the Río de la Plata, against the opinion of the people."—Adolfo Saldías: *La evolución republicana en la revolución argentina*, page 184, edition of Buenos Aires, 1906.

<sup>4</sup>See INTER-AMERICA for February, 1918, page 151.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>1</sup>Based upon the Spanish adjective derived from Buenos Aires.—THE EDITOR.

thought that they did not possess the material to constitute a government of their own, and that the government ought to be established by foreigners.<sup>5</sup>

Some—Rodríguez Peña, who aided the English invaders, Saavedra, Castelli, Vieytes, Passos, etc.—worked from 1808, with the thought in mind of crowning as the queen of the Río de la Plata the infanta, Carlota,<sup>6</sup> princess of Brazil and sister of Fernando VII. Others, in 1810, contented themselves with don Cornelio Saavedra.<sup>7</sup> Others, in 1814, wished to put themselves in the hands of Fernando himself, who, on account of something in Spain, was called "the desired." An historian of the Río de la Plata wisely recalls that:

From the moment in which Fernando VII had been restored to the throne of Spain by the fall of Napoleon, the directory of Buenos Aires had thought of making amends to him and of composing the differences with him by proving that what had been said on May 25, 1810, was literally true: that the revolution had, as a sole object, the preservation for their beloved monarch of his dominions in America.<sup>8</sup>

Hardly had Fernando VII returned to Madrid and occupied the throne, in 1814, when the Argentine national executive, with the approval of the congress, resolved

<sup>5</sup>See Adolfo Sandías: *op. cit.*, page 57.

<sup>6</sup>Regarding the intrigues of this lady and the authorities and individuals of the Rioplatensian viceroyalty, see Torres Lanza: *Independencia de América (Fuentes para su estudio)*, Madrid, 1911, volume I, *passim*: documents extracted, numbers 1401, 1405, 1406, 1432, 1449, 1451, 1459, 1486, 1490, and very especially number 1432.—See also Adolfo Saldías: *La evolución republicana*, etc.; and M. de Oliveira Lima: *Dom João VI no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1918.—The Brazilian diplomat and historian, Dom Manoel de Oliveira Lima, a sound and temperate thinker, who has studied in the light of the archives of Brazil the monarchical attempts of the Bonaerensian oligarchies in connection with the American empire of the Braganzas, sums up his opinion—in respect of what refers to Carlota and the infantes of Spain—in the following terms: "If an infante of Spain, if doña Carlota Joaquina herself, the oldest sister of Fernando VII, married to the prince regent of Portugal, had disembarked on the Plata, the delirious acclamation of her would have been certain."—M. de Oliveira Lima: *La evolución histórica de la América Latina*, translation of A. C. Rivas, page 116, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid.

<sup>7</sup>Adolfo Saldías: *op. cit.*, pages 64-68.—As the result of this effort came the struggle between Moreno, secretary of the Junta of Buenos Aires, and Saavedra, the president.

<sup>8</sup>Juan Zorrilla de San Martín: *La epopeya de Artigas*, volume II, page 6.

to abandon the endeavor for independence and come to an understanding with the Spanish government. The supreme director of the United Provinces at the time, that is, the head of the Argentine state, confessed chivalrously:

As soon as I had positive news that the señor don Fernando VII had again occupied the throne of his fathers, I communicated it to the assembly in order that it might determine what it deemed best and might instruct me as to how to proceed in the future. The point was discussed and decided in public session. Some of the deputies voted for the recognition of the Spanish monarch.<sup>9</sup> . . . In consequence of this revolution (*that dictated by the congress*) I appointed and sent two envoys with the necessary instructions.<sup>10</sup>

Not content, the director, Posadas, hastened to write to the minister of Spain at Rio de Janeiro. That "old chief notary of this bishopric" was a skeptic in political affairs.<sup>11</sup> "*What does it matter,*" he said, "*whether he who is to rule over us be called king, emperor, table, bench or stool?*"<sup>12</sup>

Others thought the same.

Rivadavia and Belgrano, commissioned by the Argentine government, presented, in 1815, a memorial to the effect that Carlos IV, a cuckold king, incapable and without a throne, who lived in Rome, cherishing his recollections and his horns, after having debased himself at the feet of Napoleon, should appoint an infante—don Francisco de Paula—as king of Argentina.<sup>13</sup> In the memorial, it was asserted that the formation of the Junta of Buenos Aires, May 25, 1810—which in 1910 was celebrated as the centenary of independence—and the fall of the viceroy were the work of European

<sup>9</sup>Gervasio Antonio Posadas: *Memorias*, page 98. (In the copy I possess there is no title-page and therefore the date and place of publication is not visible.)

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, page 98.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, page 99.

<sup>12</sup>Belgrano: volume II, page 255.

<sup>13</sup>"The plenipotentiaries had power even to appear in Spain and to request of the king the nomination of a monarch of the house of Bourbon, who might come to reign in the Argentine provinces. This mission, conceived with the thought of denaturalizing the republican and democratic tendency of the American revolution, produced no result whatsoever."—Diego Barros Arana: *Compendio de historia de América*, volume II, page 279, edition of Santiago, 1865.



Spaniards and not of Argentines. Therefore and because the Argentines did not take part in the riot of Aranjuez, which deposed Carlos IV in favor of his son Fernando, the memorialists, speaking in the name of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata:

protest and swear that they do not recognize any other, as their legitimate sovereign and king of the Spanish monarchy, than your majesty, don Carlos IV, whom God protect.

Behold, in their frightful nakedness, three propositions of the memorial:

1. *No other than a monarchical government is acceptable to those peoples.*
2. *No European prince offers the security and the advantages of one of the family of your majesty.*
3. *In case of not being able to secure this, which has always been considered the greatest advantage, the integrity of the monarchy ought to be preferred.*<sup>14</sup>

This memorial, which is a monument of impolitic baseness, was subscribed to by Rivadavia and Belgrano, May 16, 1815.

A year later, or a little less, in January, 1816, Rivadavia, stubborn in his want of dignity and forgetful of his document to Carlos IV, prostrated himself before Fernando VII, the attempt to crown don Francisco de Paula, a younger son of Carlos IV, as king of the provinces of the Plata, now having failed. What did the commissioner Rivadavia say? He presented, at the foot of the throne, *the most sincere protests of acknowledgment of vassalage*, on the part of the peoples who disputed it. The king expelled him from Madrid,<sup>15</sup> and he expelled him ignominiously. "His majesty has determined," it was communicated to him, "that you shall withdraw from his royal guaranty." It was added

<sup>14</sup>See the very extensive résumé of the *Memoria* alluded to in Blanco y Azpurúa: *op. cit.*, volume V, pages 272-276.

<sup>15</sup>See, upon the base conduct of Rivadavia in Madrid and his expulsion from the court: *Documentos inéditos acerca de la misión del doctor don Manuel José García, diputado de las Provincias Unidas en la corte de Rio de Janeiro*, edition of Buenos Aires, 1883. —Vicente F. López: *Historia de la República Argentina . . . hasta 1852*, volume VI, pages 45-77, edition of Buenos Aires, 1887. —Adolfo Saldías: *La evolución republicana*, etc. —G. René Moreno: *La prevaricación de Rivadavia*, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid.

that he had been believed to be, before knowing or hearing him, "an ornament of the qualities that inspire confidence."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup>There is not a more shameful page in the history of the continent than this page of Rivadavia's, a mulatto of a ridiculous vanity and hopeless mediocrity. On that occasion Rivadavia conducted himself with unimaginable baseness and stupidity, even for him. Instead of making commentaries, we limit ourselves to transcribing—with the most sincere blush of our American pen—the documents that do credit to the political talent and moral and intellectual elevation of Bernardino Rivadavia, whom the historians and statesmen of Buenos Aires celebrate to-day almost as a genius, and whom Bartolomé Mitre praises, in a certain historical work, now famous for its adulterations, as "*the highest personification of South American liberalism in the period of emancipation.*"—*Historia de San Martín*, third edition, volume VI, page 163.—He also calls Rivadavia: "*the civil genius of South America who gave the formula of her representative institutions.*"—*Op. cit.*, volume VI, page 261.

One of the documents to which reference is made is the first communication addressed by Rivadavia, when he arrived at Madrid, to the Spanish minister of state; the other, an official letter addressed by the latter to "*the highest personification of South American liberalism.*"

"Madrid, May 27, 1816.

"His Excellency Señor Don Pedro Cevallos,

"First Minister of State in the Office of His Majesty.

"Most Excellent Señor:

"On the twenty-seventh of the present month I had the satisfaction to present myself to your excellency in compliance with the royal order of December, 1815, to place in your hands the credentials of my commission and to explain to your excellency its object, as also the incidents that may have greatest influence in the affair.

"As the mission of the peoples that have deputed me is limited to complying with the sacred obligation of *presenting at the feet of his majesty the most sincere avowal of their acknowledgment of vassalage*, to felicitating him upon his successful and longed for restoration to the throne and to supplicating him humbly to deign, as the father of his peoples, to make known the terms that are to regulate their government and administration, your excellency will grant me, regarding such interesting particulars, to beseech of him an answer, such as is desired by the peoples mentioned and as is demanded by the situation of that part of the monarchy.

"God preserve your excellency many years.

"BERNARDINO RIVADAVIA."

The Spanish minister communicated to Rivadavia, weeks afterward, the following official note:

"*Paris, June 21, 1816.* (I date by means of an official letter of Gandasegui's on the same day).

"Señor don Bernardino Rivadavia:

"The king our master, remembering that he is the father of his vassals and desiring by all possible means to reestablish the tranquillity of his dominions, was pleased to hear the expressions of submission and vassalage of those who call themselves the deputies of the so-called government of Buenos Aires.

"In consequence of this determination, issued by the extinct Ministerio Universal de Indias, I have given you a passport to the court in order to discuss the means of reestablishing order and true respect for the authority of his majesty.

A little before, Rivadavia went (May, 1816,) to beseech of Fernando VII to deign to receive to his paternal bosom the provinces of the Plata; almost simultaneously with the steps that were taken, at the beginning of 1815, by Belgrano and Rivadavia himself to induce Carlos IV to send an infante as king of Argentina, there occurred in Buenos Aires another lamentable scene: the director, Alvear, chief of the state (January-April, 1815), solicited a British protectorate.

General Alvear wrote to the English government:

These provinces desire to belong to Great Britain, to receive her laws, to obey her government

"In our first conference you were pleased to present me the document of your authorization; but it was so informal and bare of authority that it gave me ground to suspect its legitimacy; much more after Sarraatea, who also calls himself a deputy, had written me that your powers were revoked; but I passed over everything, animated by a desire not to place obstacles in the way of the paternal and kindly consideration of the king.

"I asked you if you had instructions, and you replied that you did not bring them, nor had asked them of your colleagues, because, since there were in the Junta of Buenos Aires certain excited minds, it seemed to you that it was preferable not to bring any instructions, rather than to bring such as might irritate the mind of his majesty and place obstacles in the way of his exercising his clemency. On this account and having expressed to you the desire of the king to bring to a happy conclusion the disturbances in Buenos Aires, our first session was terminated.

"Two days afterward appeared before me the director of the Compañía de Filipinas, don Juan Manuel de Gandasegui, and he said to me for you, that you had forgotten to tell me, that in a chapter of your instructions you were reminded of the point brought up by the official letter of May 27 last.

"A new contradiction, which increases the suspicions of the good faith that ought to animate the conduct of subjects who, repentant of what they have done hitherto, seek the clemency of the best of sovereigns.

"It is necessary that, mindful of its decorum (that of the Spanish government), it should break the thread of a series of conferences wanting, on your part, in the candor, good faith and sincere repentance that ought to animate them, especially when they were inaugurated under the authority of a sovereign who has desired that the attribute of father of his peoples shall be more prominent than the other attributes of his sovereignty.

"In consequence, his majesty has determined that you shall retire from his royal guaranty, because, although this was granted to a subject he believed to be an ornament to the qualities that inspire confidence, and who, after the conferences, is seen to be something very different in the eyes of the law; nevertheless, the king disregards his rights and remembers only that which he owes to himself.

"I communicate to you the royal order for your information and prompt compliance. God preserve you.

"PEDRO CEVALLOS."

In this second document, we do not know which to

and to live beneath her powerful influence. They give themselves up without any condition to the generosity and good faith of the English people, and I am resolved to support so just a solicitation in order to free them from the evils that afflict them.<sup>17</sup>

admire most, whether the impolitic insolence of the Spanish rulers or the baseness of Rivadavia, who made himself the recipient of such treatment. In transcribing it here, two paragraphs have been suppressed—indicated by the dotted line—in which the minister, Cevallos, censures the duplicity of the Bonaerensian politicians and speaks of "the mildness of the laws" of Spain.

After this series of insults and kicks, Rivadavia did not lack the effrontery to solicit an audience with the minister. Naturally it was not granted him. On June 28 Rivadavia again addressed Cevallos, licking the feet of both the insolent minister and of Fernando VII. He says there that he "had written repeatedly" to Buenos Aires to inform them of the respect and circumspection with which they ought to await the favors of the sovereign, and that he would do so again. "The highest representation of South American liberalism" added in his communication these words of gold: "I am resolved upon everything in order to prove to my sovereign the loyal sentiments of those peoples and of myself."

Forgetful and megalomaniac writers of Buenos Aires, masters in the art of inflating microbes and doctors in the science of falsifying history, playing tricks of skill with documents and reasons, have, without shame, compared Rivadavia with Bolívar as a diplomat, and even held Rivadavia to be superior.

With reason and justice an historian of the south has written: Rivadavia "wished for the Argentine republic . . . her repentant and contrite return to the colonial regimen through the compassionate pardon of his king, Fernando VII. Now is seen at the feet of this absolute monarch, acknowledging himself his vassal, and next, expelled at the tip of the toe from his presence, the one of whom it was most solemnly said in Buenos Aires that he had been the successful competitor of Bolívar in the diplomatic realm during the struggle for independence. These dithyrambic frenzies of nationalism—which is very flattering to nationalism within its borders—must acquire wide acceptance outside of Argentina when it becomes known what such a personage as Rivadavia really was and what he was not."—Gabriel René-Moreno: *Ayacucho en Buenos Aires y prevaricación de Rivadavia*, pages 300-301, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid.

"Bartolomé Mitre: *Historia de Belgrano*, volume II, page 260.—Already, in 1814, the skeptical Alvear had recognized, in a treaty made in the name of the Argentine government, "the unity and integrity of the Spanish monarchy." On August 16, 1814, the Spanish general, Gaspar Vigodet, wrote from Rio de Janeiro to the director, Posadas, complaining of the violation of the treaty he had celebrated, as chief of the post of Montevideo, with General Alvear. The Spanish general says there: "Sworn to, acknowledged and signed once or twice by the said General Alvear, in the name of your excellency and of his troops; the unity and integrity of the Spanish monarchy, of which the provinces of the Rio de la Plata are an integral part, recognize, in consequence, as their legitimate king, the señor don Fernando VII, our beloved sovereign," etc., etc.—See the document in the *Memorias* of Posadas, page 62.



A year had not passed when there arose in Buenos Aires two projects: one of them was to crown an Inca; and the other, to crown a prince of Brazil.

Belgrano, in 1816, proposed to the congress, with the support of a great number of leaders, an Inca of Perú. The congress considered the proposition in a secret session, July 6.<sup>18</sup> The leaders, with Belgrano at their head, proposed the fantastic and ridiculous scheme of uniting by a matrimonial alliance "the house of the Incas (of Perú) with the house of Braganza" (of Brazil), in order that a caste of mestizo princes, half Peruvian and half Brazilian, might rule over the Río de la Plata, with Cuzco as the capital of the kingdom. A curious policy was that of attempting to resuscitate the theocratic despotism of the Incas, even if diluted with liberalism by the family of Braganza. A chimerical alliance and a chimerical project, or, as a Brazilian historian says: "a picturesque absurdity!"<sup>19</sup>

The supreme director, General Balcarce, in 1816 (May 4), wrote to the Argentine minister in Rio de Janeiro, don Manuel José García, to urge him to secure the support for the United Provinces "of a respectable power" like the empire of Brazil.

Other supreme directors, Pueyrredón, for example, and Álvarez Thomas, worked also at the project of obtaining Portuguese princes, which, truth to tell, exasperated General San Martín, who called these projects, which he protested he would oppose with all his means, *Brazilian intrigues*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup>See the act of the secret session of the congress, July 6, 1816, a session in which Belgrano proposed the Inca as king of Argentina.—Blanco Azpurúa: *op. cit.*, volume V, pages 458-460.—In the congress that made the declaration of independence in the year 1816, the deputy, Doctor Castro Barros, one of the lights of the body, expressed himself in the session of July 31 in eloquent terms to prove that "the constitutional monarchical system is that which the Lord gave to the people of Israel, that which Jesus Christ set up in the church, the most favorable for the preservation and progress of the Catholic religion and the least subject to the evils that affect others." In consequence, he declared himself in favor of reinstating the Incas of Perú upon the throne of Buenos Aires.

<sup>19</sup>M. de Oliveira Lima: *La evolución histórica de la América Latina*, page 126, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid.

<sup>20</sup>San Martín was right. It seems a falsehood that so many distinguished men and patriots should serve as the blind instruments (as years later, in the war of Paraguay) of Brazilian diplomacy. In respect of the

It did not matter. The minister, Manuel José García, the "most notable of the Hispano-American diplomats of the period," solicited, with the consent of the government of Buenos Aires and by mandate and instructions of that government, the Brazilian protectorate.<sup>21</sup> García dreamed of a Portuguese prince and of the annexation of Argentina to the Brazilo-Portuguese crown. He was not the only one. The Brazilian general had invaded—at the instance of the commissioner, García, and with the good will of the government of Buenos Aires—the Rioplatensian province of Uruguay. In the instructions conveyed by the Argentine congress of 1816, the same that made the declaration of independence, to a commissioner sent to the invading Brazilian general, it was said that if it were impossible to unite in matrimony an Inca with the house of Braganza, in order that he might reign in Argentina, "the commissioner (*to the Brazilian general*) would propose the coronation of an infante of Brazil in the United Provinces, or any other foreign infante, provided he should not be from Spain." It was added, with the greatest reserve, that, as a last resort, the emperor of Brazil should be recognized as the sovereign of the Argentine provinces,

ambitions of Brazil upon the Río de la Plata, observe what was shown by the great Argentine, Juan Bautista Alberdi: "Three causes render essential to the life of Brazil these territories that she seeks upon the Plata: first, the need to populate her country with the white races of Europe, for which she seeks the temperate regions that she does not possess; second, the need of lands appropriate for the production of food products and sustenance for her people, which she does not own, at least, such as are available; and, third, the need to secure her present territories that border upon the affluents of the Plata by the acquisition and possession of the countries proprietary to the lower part of these rivers. So Brazil, in her historical and traditional tendency to extend her borders to the Plata and its affluents, yields to the force of the irresistible needs that affect her *population*, her *subsistence* and her *security*."—J. B. Alberdi: *Las disensiones de las repúblicas de la Plata y las maquinaciones del Brasil*, pages, 2-3, edition of Paris, 1869.

<sup>21</sup>Regarding the negotiations of Argentina with Brazil, in solicitation of a prince, consult the *Documentos* of the minister, García, published by his son, don Manuel Rafael García.—Zorrilla de San Martín: *La epopeya de Artigas*, volume II.—M. de Oliveira Lima: *Dom João VI no Brasil*.—Carlos A. Villanueva: *Bolívar y el general San Martín*.—What was García's plan? "His plan," says Villanueva, "was to assure the independence of his country under a monarchical form of government and the protection of a foreign power, strong and stable, like Brazil.—*Op. cit.*, page 54.

which was equivalent to their annexing themselves voluntarily to the Brazilian crown. The director, Pueyrredón, opposed this formula of the congress, in respect of the sending of diplomatic messages and messengers to an invading general; "but he ends by accepting the plan that they shall negotiate for the coronation of a prince of the house of Braganza, or another foreign prince, as the constitutional monarch of the United Provinces."<sup>22</sup>

Director Pueyrredón, chief of the state in 1817 and 1818, who had failed (1817) in his attempt to secure a prince of Brazil, undertook (1818), with the consent and support of San Martín, negotiations for the crowning of the Duc d'Orléans. "Only a French prince," said Pueyrredón to Colonel La Moyne, commissioner of France, "can assure the felicity of our country." The Duc d'Orléans "is best for us in all respects."<sup>23</sup>

Director Rondeau, chief of the state in 1819, and the congress of the nation decided in favor of the Duca di Lucca; and the congress, at the instance of the executive, decreed, November 13, 1819:

*These provinces recognize as their sovereign the Duca di Lucca.*<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Zorrilla de San Martín: *op. cit.*, volume II, page 51.

<sup>23</sup>Carlos A. Villanueva: *Bolívar y el general San Martín*, pages 115-116; and in general throughout the chapter entitled: "El duque de Orleans," pages 89-125.

<sup>24</sup>See the communication of the Argentine diplomatic envoy in France, don Valentín Gómez (Paris, June 18, 1819,) to the government of Buenos Aires with the proposal regarding the Duca di Lucca as king of Argentina; the note of the chief of the national government, General Rondeau, to the congress (October 26, 1819,) urging that body to concern itself in the greatest haste with the subject and "not to let escape an occasion so favorable and with such manifest advantages to the country." In the secret sessions of the congress (October 7, February 3 and February 12, 1819), the project was considered and accepted. The congress decided to celebrate a treaty with France in order that the Argentine monarch might arrive under the best circumstances. Everything must be carried out quickly and in silence "in order that the project might not fail," and "in order to avoid the unhappy consequences that would be occasioned—if the plan should become known prematurely—by the malign comments that the enemies of our country's happiness would be able to make upon it." The congress, as may be observed, feared ridicule. Nevertheless, it challenged it. It concluded by decreeing, February 13, 1819: "These provinces will recognize the Duca di Lucca as sovereign." Greater speed could not be demanded. The director, Rondeau, was pleased. The pertinent documents mentioned here may be consulted in the work of Blanco-Azpúrua: *Documentos para la historia pública del Libertador*, volume VII, pages 110-128.

In these plans for the erection of an Argentine throne, we do not see directly the hand of San Martín, as we shall see it later in Perú. The reason is obvious. San Martín did not take the initiative in any project of high policy during his career in Argentina, because his position in the politics of the country was always secondary—not obscure, but secondary, that is, he never played there the first rôle, nor was he the arbiter of political events—although he was a hundred times more important than the Saavedras, the Posadas, the Balcarces, the Álvarez Thomases, the Rivadavias and the other figureheads of Bonaerensian politics. If, however, not as a prime mover, San Martín was associated as a copartner with several monarchist projects, including the absurd scheme for the crowning of an Inca of Perú. Regarding the monarchism of San Martín and his assent that Argentina should become a kingdom, the biographer of the hero wrote:

As to the establishment of a constitutional monarchical system, San Martín was not opposed to it. He thought, like Belgrano, that the social and material elements were lacking for the creation of a republic. So therefore he was not far from accepting the combination of the restoration of the house of the Incas.<sup>25</sup>

The support that San Martín gave to the silly and grotesque project of an Inca seems incredible;<sup>26</sup> and it seems incredible, although we recall that San Martín, as his biographer says, was not a politician—but he was, and a very astute one; what he was not, was a statesman—and although the biographer says also, in order to explain the hero:

Great men who have merited well of humanity, like William of Orange and Washington, have

<sup>25</sup>Bartolomé Mitre: *Historia de Belgrano*, volume II, page 17.

<sup>26</sup>"I have already indicated," wrote San Martín, the governor of Cuyo, to a deputy of that province—elected through the influence of the governor—"how admirable seems to me to be the plan of an Inca at the head. The advantages are geometrical; but for the sake of the country I beseech you not to bring us under a regency of several persons: at the moment in which we pass from a single person, all will be paralyzed and we shall go to the devil. In truth, it is only necessary to change the name of our director and he will become a regent; this is the way for us to reach a port of safety."—Bartolomé Mitre: *Historia de San Martín*, volume I, page 134.



not shone by their intelligence or their learning.<sup>27</sup>

So complicated was the imbroglio of the monarchist policy of the Argentines during this period that often we find the same names mingled, almost at the same time, in different diplomatic intrigues: Rivadavia, for example, tried to bring over Francisco de Paula; in the same place he offered the submission of the Argentine provinces to Fernando VII. Pueyrredón favored the coronation of a Brazilian prince; a little later he asked for a French prince. San Martín was willing to accept the Inca; but also he found the Duc d'Orléans acceptable. So were they all. There was not a single one of the Rioplatensian leaders of state; not one of the principal generals; not one of the eminent diplomats, whose name is not to be found among the lists of those absurd plans for monarchism.

We have now seen that a series of monarchist attempts, although perhaps not complete, extended from 1808 until 1820. In those negotiations the principal men of the country took part.

In 1821, the personages of Buenos Aires went even further:

Not only were they resolved to return to the projects of a Portuguese or an English protectorate or of a Brazilian, French or Spanish constitutional monarchy, but they declared in an official document, although of a secret nature (*some of the signers denied later the authenticity of such a document*), their resolve to restore the United Provinces to the authority of Fernando VII. This paper they delivered to the commissioners of the Spanish constitutional government charged to negotiate a peace with Buenos Aires in 1820. Who signed it? No less a personage, indeed, and in the first place, than the governor of Buenos Aires, General don Martín Rodríguez;<sup>28</sup> others were: don Cornelio Saavedra, the very one whom they wished to crown in 1810; the famous General La Madrid; the legislators Gascón and Alzaga; Doctor Castro, of the Alto Tribunal de Justicia, and other members of the Lautaro Lodge, under the auspices of which San Martín had risen.<sup>29</sup>

It would be difficult and unnecessary

<sup>27</sup>Bartolomé Mitre: *Historia de San Martín*, volume II, page 41.

<sup>28</sup>Of whom Rivadavia was minister and inspirer.

<sup>29</sup>See Carlos A. Villanueva: *Bolívar y el general San Martín*, pages 199-200.

to cite all these efforts that followed, one after the other, as negotiations continued to fail. At times the efforts were carried on simultaneously at the court of Rio de Janeiro and at the courts of London, Madrid or Paris. No one wished to accept the proffered throne. The policy of rivalry between the European courts, on the one hand—inasmuch as each country of Europe desired to exercise more influence than the rest in the new state of America—and on the other, the slight attractiveness of that risky throne, and finally because the peoples of America did not show themselves to be monarchistic, although the rulers, as in Argentina and México, were so: here we have some of the reasons why a throne was not set up in the provinces of the Plata. If these were not the reasons, there might be others. At all events, it did not fail to be set up because of any lack of desire and effort on the part of the leaders in Buenos Aires. Of the leaders, I say, not of the people; because it must be observed that they not only were personages of first importance, but the leaders of the republic—we shall call them so—the supreme directors, who, feeling themselves to be incapable of guiding the revolution and of giving a proper direction to the state, proposed with the greatest earnestness the advent of kings, that is, of foreign chiefs of state who should perpetuate themselves through their descendants. Posadas, in 1814; Alvear, in 1815; Balcarce, in 1816; Pueyrredón, in 1817 and 1818; Rondeau, in 1819; Martín Rodríguez, governor of Buenos Aires, in 1821; the supreme directors, without excepting those who are not mentioned here, like Álvarez Thomas, were all monarchists; all distrusted democracy; all believed themselves incapable of leading the country to order and liberty; all solicited foreign kings or protectorates for their country. As late as 1824, Rivadavia, an influential minister, made a compact with the Spaniards and hindered indirectly, as far as he could, the campaign of Ayacucho, by proposing to buy independence with money. The incorrigible ideologist, always out of touch with reality, carried out, perhaps in good faith, an obscure scheme. He imagined that a mother-country—and a mother country like Spain

—would yield for a song her rights or those she held to be such, and for which she was fighting, colonies that she could probably continue to hold subject and exploit! On the occasion, the probability of her success increased with the attitude of France and the possible support of the Holy Alliance to Fernando VII. Some historians of Buenos Aires excuse Rivadavia, however, by saying that he desired to obtain a diplomatic victory, “a bloodless Ayacucho.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup>“In this diplomatic realm,” writes the delightful historian Mitre, “are to be found for the first time and it will not be for the last, the great military and political figure of the Liberator of Colombia and the civil genius of don Bernardino Rivadavia, the loftiest personification of South American liberalism in the period of the emancipation, according to the universal consensus. One was the arbiter of four great peoples; the other, the constitutional minister of a province. Bolívar aspired to a laurel crown as the American Cæsar. Rivadavia desired to achieve, by a bloodless victory, a diplomatic Ayacucho, as has been said, the crown of the peaceful liberator.”—*Historia de San Martín*, third edition, volume VI, page 163.

The minister of the province of Buenos Aires—since the Argentine state no longer existed, after the dissolution of 1820—attained, in the midst of anarchy and the dearth of superior men that characterized this period of the history of the Plata, to the rulership of the country. His government lasted but a short time. He could not maintain himself in his position as national chief, and he was overthrown by anarchy. What, from the constitutional point of view, was done by this man of genius, “the civil genius of don Bernardino Rivadavia,” when once the dream of making his country a monarchy had vanished? Sarmiento, another Rivadavian, is going to tell us:

“Rivadavia had as a mission to present to us the constitutionalism of Benjamin Constant with all its hollow words, its deceptions and its ridiculousnesses.”—Sarmiento: *Facundo*, page 172.—There appeared one day the social reality, which was called Juan Manuel Rosas, and all those hollow words, all those deceptions, all those absurdities, ceased amid tears. If the principal work of Rivadavia in the constitutional field, his plan of delivering the country to Fernando VII being now forgotten, was to copy Benjamin Constant, what was his principal work in the realm of practical politics? It was to incite and to bring about the dictatorship of Rosas. San Martín marked his brow with a hot iron by calling him and his friends a *bunch of rascals*. “Rivadavia and his satellites have done immense harm, not only to Argentina, but to all America, by their infernal conduct.”—San Martín: *Su correspondencia* (1823-1850), page 19, edition of Madrid, 1910.

In other respects, as to “statesman” and “reformer,” Rivadavia did nothing more than decree or carry out in this province what had been done before, among their respective peoples, by other Americans, principally by those of Venezuela and the Great Colombia. As a diplomat exclusively, there remains a marvelous portrait of this chocolate personage, during the period in which he was soliciting in Europe kings for Argentina, or rather, was offering the vassalage of the United Provinces to our master don Fernando VII. For this pen portrait we are indebted to Antonio José de Irrisari, a son of Guate-

In Argentina, the revolution was saved, first, by the impossibility of finding in any court of Europe or Brazil a prince who would accept the Argentine throne; next, by the instinctive democracy of the provinces; and, finally, by the example of

mala, a diplomat in the service of Chile, one of the most talented civilians of the American revolution, whether as a diplomat or as a writer. Irrisari left a fundamental work: his history of the assassination of Sucre.

Here we have a photograph that is found in a letter of Irrisari's to General O'Higgins, written in London, May 14, 1820.

“The señor Rivadavia has been in Europe for eight long years and he has only learned how to write and speak a language that is neither Spanish nor French nor English nor anything intelligible. When he takes the greatest trouble to explain himself well, then it is that he becomes most confused and obscure. After having heard him for half a day, it is necessary to ask him what it is he has tried to say? He is a man who thinks of things in a very strange manner, who says them in an even stranger manner, who is lazy in the extreme, who considers himself to be consummately politic, and he can only be deemed most consummately impolitic. When he speaks of European ambassadors, he paints them as fools of the first water and he thinks that they would all gain much by knowing what he knows. He has four favorite phrases, which he learned in some book that he read by accident, and they are: “keep abreast of the mind of the times;” “the windings of politics;” “the philosophism of the day;” and “the imbecility of Europeans.” There is no conversation, however trivial or short it may be, in which he does not repeat these words ten times, thinking that by this means he is showing himself off as an eminent orator. His laziness causes him not to visit any one nor to take a step in behalf of the business he has in charge. Hitherto he has never seen this minister and he has not attempted to see him. He has never felt the need of becoming acquainted with the personage who might open to him the way of negotiations; and when I proposed to introduce him to the duke of Sussex, he answered me that he thought that gentleman could not be of any use to him. Nevertheless, I invited the secretary of his royal highness and Rivadavia himself to dine, in order that they might become acquainted in my house, and that this man might thus have easy access to him when he might need him; but he came to the table to engage in conversations so puerile and to defend his opinions with so little finesse and courtesy that the gentleman was very much displeased with him, and he asked me afterward if the other personages of Buenos Aires were of the same caliber. After that, he was introduced by a person who knew the celebrated Bentham into the house of this learned man, and in the first visit he quarreled with him, because their political principles did not agree well. Afterward he was taken by the envoys of Venezuela to dinner at Lord Calthoep's, and at the same house, the first day of his acquaintanceship, he was guilty of the same rudeness he had manifested at Bentham's. Tell me now what is to be expected of such envoys as these? The truth of the case is that if I had not invited him to participate in the plan of the loan and if I had not given it to him all worked out, not even in this respect would he have served his government.”—Taken from the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, of Santiago de Chile, second quarter of 1911.



Colombia and the United States. In México, where also there were powerful monarchistic parties—as there were, although on a smaller scale, in Chile—it did not triumph upon the heel of independence, which had issued from the hands of demagogical rural priests and stupid hordes of indigenes, but with the support of the higher clergy and the plutocratic oligarchies. In México, too, was accomplished—because there was a man without scruples, without republican ideals, but with confidence in the national army—what was not accomplished in Argentina, where the rivalry of the leaders was extreme and where none of them towered above the others: the establishment of an empire, the creole empire of Iturbide. Only the population of Colombia, in the midst of the universal revolution of Spanish America, was essentially republican and democratic. Bolívar alone founded republics. Only he, as the creator of states, consciously and deliberately imposed republican legislation and formulas. Also he did all he could, even to the extent of threatening, to prevent the neighboring states from becoming monarchical.<sup>31</sup> It may be roundly affirmed that through Bolívar and through the revolution of Colombia the republic triumphed conscientiously in Latin America.

The monarchism of the Rioplatensian politicians was not, be it repeated, in the heart of the nation, at least not in the heart of some of her leaders, such as Artigas, Ramírez, etc., because if the people, strictly speaking, did not understand constitutional forms, it was, as in México and the other countries of America, instinctively democratic.

## II

### OTHER DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH

It is also a peculiarity of the revolution in the south that it lacked the aspect of an international war, which the revolution in the countries that constituted the Great

Colombia had so markedly. As neither European troops nor squadrons went to the people of the south in appreciable numbers; as there was no national flag until very late—since the Spanish flag was held to be their own<sup>32</sup>; and as absolute independence was not proclaimed until 1816, in Argentina, and until January 1, 1818, in Chile,<sup>33</sup> the aspect of an international struggle, of a war between two nations, with different banners, armies, ideals and interests, did not assume there the form it did in other countries.

In the Great Colombia, for example, soldiers of America fought against soldiers of Europe; the yellow, blue and red flag, the flag of Venezuela, the first flag, chronologically of Latin America, the flag invented by Miranda and brought by him to *Tierra Firme*—after the first revolutionary invasions of 1806—was raised as a symbol of the patria against the red and yellow flag of Spain; the republic set herself in front of the monarchy as the political ideal of one people against the political ideal of another people, and independence, pronounced officially in Caracas from July 5, 1811, represented political and economic interests irreconcilable with the unity of the ancient Spanish empire.

Nor were there in the south, either, except in Chile, European leaders who could arouse the ignorant masses of the country people. In Chile herself they were few in number, limited to one region, and they had neither the influence, the efficiency, nor the military genius of Boves and Morales in the north. In the United Provinces, to-day Argentina,

<sup>32</sup>See the official despatch of Belgrano to the most excellent superior government of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata regarding the flag day: *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador*, volume III, pages 673-674, edition of Caracas, 1876. —See also the despatch of the government of Buenos Aires (June 27, 1812), to General Belgrano transmitting him a Spanish flag and ordering him to raise in the army the flag that was to be, as time went on, the national emblem.—Carlos Calvo: *Anales históricos de la revolución de la América latina, acompañados de los documentos en su apoyo*, volume II, pages 27-31, edition of Paris, 1864.

<sup>31</sup>See the instructions given to Colonel Diego Ibarra, commissioner to General San Martín, when news came regarding the conferences of Punchanca between San Martín and the viceroy, in which San Martín proposed to go to Spain personally, in search of a prince for Chile, Perú and Argentina:—*Memorias del general O'Leary: documentos*, volume XVIII, page 497.

<sup>33</sup>The proclamation of independence in Chile was not decreed by a congress, because there was none, nor did the government believe it proper that there should be, but by the director, O'Higgins and his three ministers of state.—See the declaration in *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador*, volume VI, pages 238-239.

there were none. This lack of Spanish leaders would have robbed the Argentine revolution of dramatic character, if, indeed it had not been imposed by the feudal leaders of the provinces and of the civil war, as a compensation for that want.

Finally, the unmitigated and ceaseless anarchy that reached the point of disintegrating the state, in 1820, and that only terminated with the bloody monarchy of Rosas, in 1829, was the characteristic and most transcendent trait of the Argentine revolution. That anarchy was spontaneous, like the anarchy of Venezuela, in 1817, and that of Perú, in 1823. Not only did the strong arm that would suppress it not exist, as in Perú and Venezuela, but the directors, upon more than one occasion, provoked rather than restrained it.

In the majority of the Argentine republicans of that period is observed an absolute ignorance or an absolute disdain of social realities. Men, patriotic and eminent in many respects, moved through the revolution without a compass, letting themselves be drawn along by it, instead of directing it, and often setting themselves against it, in order, finally, to be crushed by it. Sometimes the rulers of Buenos Aires were factors of anarchy by seeking to offset the spontaneous democratic spirit of the country by their strict and inflexible oligarchy and their monarchical plans; at others, they were such by fostering the absorptive spirit of the centralism—economic, political and military—of the capital, at the expense of the provinces;<sup>34</sup> and at others, by having their eyes fixed, without any study or analysis of the environment, upon political formulas of alien societies: formulas excellent, perhaps, in themselves, but which were the most

wretched garments for the Argentine social body.<sup>35</sup>

Many circumstances, on that occasion, beyond and independent of the will or prevision of men, such as geography, race, savagery of the country, etc., ought, however, not to be overlooked, but given all their importance, which is a maxim in respect of the factors of anarchy.

### III

#### ARGENTINE ANARCHY: THE LACK OF A HERO

Besides the problem of regimen or institution, there arose, whether bound up with it or not, other problems in the country—such as the question between Buenos Aires, the imperial city, and the mediterranean provinces that necessarily depended economically upon that city, its port and its province. Anarchy appeared, as it appeared in almost all the American colonies—where superimposed races, without political education, seeing the iron bit of a secular domination broken, and the factors of a vast revolution being comprehended, gave rein to anarchical instincts and forces.

In Argentina, anarchy was aggravated by three causes: first, the political and economic centralism that Buenos Aires desired to exercise with regard to the provinces; second, the divergence between the people, spontaneously democratic, if not republican, and the ruling oligarchies, seekers after princes to whom they might deliver the country;<sup>36</sup> and, third, because

<sup>35</sup>See what D. F. Sarmiento says regarding the policy of Rivadavia: *Facundo*, page 172, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid.

<sup>36</sup>Regarding one of the hundred monarchical projects that separated the government from public opinion—that of 1819, according to which the acceptance of the Duca di Lucca as the Argentine king was decreed by the congress—Mitre says: "The evident fact that the monarchical system was opposed to public opinion and increased the resistance of the masses, and the circumstance that the scheme was incompatible with the republican constitution recently sworn to, all contributed to give to these dark plottings the character of treason in the eyes of the country. The congress, nevertheless, approved the project (*and the project of monarchy presented by the chief of state himself, General Rondeau*) in the terms that have been mentioned above. Although the discussion was held in secret sessions, the mystery leaked out, and the facts were magnified by passion in proportion as the public mind became inflamed; alarm spread everywhere, and the central government thus lost the support of public opinion, which abandoned it for ever."—Mitre: *Historia de Belgrano*, volume IV, page 95, edition of Buenos Aires, 1902.

<sup>34</sup>A celebrated Argentine writer, in a celebrated book, asks: "Could Dorrego and his party foresee (*sic*) that the provinces would some day come to chastise Buenos Aires for having withheld her civilizing influence, and which, in token of hating their backwardness and their barbarism, that backwardness and that barbarism would penetrate to the streets of Buenos Aires, establish themselves there and set up their tents in the fort?"—D. F. Sarmiento: *Facundo*, pages 175-176, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid. —Put the name *unitary* in the place of *federal*, and Posadas, Pueyrredón or Rivadavia where Dorrego occurs, and this consideration of Sarmiento's regarding an evident historical truth would have more justice and more force.



there did not appear, in that turbulent society which could not produce of itself the norms of tranquillity or occupy itself with the restrained exercise of liberty, a higher mind or a stronger hand to impose order.<sup>37</sup>

Anarchy—which was not a case unique with Argentina, but a symptom of the same evil that attacked México, Central America, Venezuela, Nueva Granada, Perú and Chile, aggravated there by local problems and causes—was of a maximum acuteness in Argentina.<sup>38</sup> This chaotic character, this continuous anarchy, is, as has been pointed out, another peculiar characteristic of the revolution of the provinces of the Plata. There was no one to restrain it, as Napoleon restrained it in France, and Bolívar, in several countries of America, while the war of independence lasted.

As they did not have foreign enemies to fight, the Argentines either went forth to secure the independence of their country beyond the frontiers, or, within the national territory, they fought with each other. This restlessness indicates vital force, on the one hand, and incapacity, on the other. Revolutions are not schools of order or of civism; but when men address themselves to a lofty ideal, when the prestige of a glorious name superimposes itself or when the spirit of sacrifice triumphs over disorderly appetites and compromises with circumstances, the collective purpose, if it exist, comes forth unscathed and erect.

From the very dawn of the revolution began the anarchical chaos that was to have no end, it may be said, until long after Ayacucho, with the domination of the tyrant Rosas.

The first Junta, that of 1810, showed already the fatal germ in its bosom; and in

it Saavedra and the conservatives combated the radicals, led by Moreno, a true revolutionary, somewhat after the manner of the revolutionaries of Venezuela.<sup>39</sup> On April 6, 1811, a riot of conservative elements forced upon Saavedra the chief command of the troops, and the opposers were overthrown. Only a short time was the leadership of this solemn and ephemeral personage to endure.<sup>40</sup> Saavedra set out

<sup>39</sup>Compare the proposal of Moreno to make war upon the Europeans with that of the Venezuelan Antonio Nicolás Briceño: it is the same spirit of terrorist Jacobinism.

<sup>40</sup>At the beginning of the revolution some thought even of crowning Saavedra. What he was worth as a politician he proved by passing his life during the remainder of the revolution in obscurity. His value as a warrior was set forth by Belgrano: "The military chief, don Cornelio Saavedra, did not understand anything about war, and so he thought that a soldier would be at his best if left to follow his own inclinations."—General Manuel Belgrano: *Expedición al Paraguay*, page 13, inserted at the front of *Memorias póstumas del general José María Paz*, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid, 1916.

Not much more of a soldier than Saavedra was General Belgrano, either: "All my countrymen," he says with reason and modesty, "and many inhabitants of Spain know that my career was one of study, and that when it was terminated, I was indebted to Carlos IV for my appointment as secretary of the consulate of Buenos Aires upon its creation; as a consequence, my application, much or little, was never directed to military affairs, and if, in the year '96 (1796), the viceroy, Melo, conferred upon me the office of captain of the urban militia of the same capital, I received it rather in order to have more clothes to wear than to obtain knowledge of such a career."—*Fragmento de memoria sobre la batalla de Tucumán*. (1812).

Belgrano improvised himself into a soldier like innumerable leaders of the American independence; what was rare in him was not this, but the absolute lack, in a soldier, of military gifts, a lack which he himself recognized. Belgrano, however, was worth a hundred times more than Saavedra. Belgrano—who, if he was bad as a soldier, was a worse politician—rendered many and good services to his country even as a soldier, inasmuch as, through patriotism, he ventured to accept the command of arms and he waged and won battles. The English General Miller, in his *Memorias*, says: "Belgrano displayed considerable ardor, but not much military capacity; he was deficient in coolness, and he had not the robustness of frame to undergo the fatigue of a harassing campaign. Nevertheless, he applied himself closely to the study of tactics, and established strict discipline; he was temperate at table and indefatigable in his duties; but he had neither the experience nor all the military tact to succeed as a general officer."—Volume I, page 112.

(The author quotes from the Spanish version. The original English was published in London, 1828, in two volumes, with the title: *Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Perú*, by John Miller. A Spanish version was published in Santiago, Chile, 1912, in three volumes, with the title: *Memorias del general Miller, al servicio de la república del Perú, escritas en inglés por Mr. John Miller y traducidas al*

<sup>37</sup>This strong hand was not to be found in the country—even if not the superior mind—until 1829: the hand of Rosas. The tyrant, if, indeed, he suppressed anarchy, and in a certain manner unified or federated the country, previously dissolved in rival and hostile provinces, also crushed the nation beneath his monarchy of iron that distilled blood.

<sup>38</sup>The illustrious Argentine patriot General Paz already remarked it. "However much people may say that vices and passions belong to all peoples and all ages, it is indisputable that in no part of America (as in the Argentine society) have they produced such pronounced and such terrible ravages."—*Memorias póstumas*, pages 245-246.

to verify the defeat of the Argentine patriots by the troops of the viceroy of Perú, under the command of the Peruvian Goyeneche, at Huaqui: he hardly reached San Juan, still far removed from the end of his military journey, when he found himself a prisoner to the revolutionaries whom he left behind him.

The Junta presided over by Saavedra was succeeded, in a tumultuous manner, by a triumvirate (September 23, 1811). This triumvirate, an imitation of the consular *trimurti* of France, began the trial of the rioters of April 6; the participants in, and beneficiaries of, the movement were prosecuted, from Saavedra to Doctor Campana.

Already in this trial appeared the sinister and brilliant Montegudo, who was soon to be found in the celebrated political cases in which there were banishments to impose and blood to shed. At the trial of Alzaga, a little afterward, which carried to the scaffold thirty-eight Spanish counter-revolutionists, appeared, although in the shadow, another person of Buenos Aires, the presumptuous and corrupt mulatto, Rivadavia, who became enraged against the unfortunates because they loved the Spanish empire, when he himself was not to delay long in going to Spain to kneel before Carlos IV and to offer him pensions for Godoy and María Luisa, if they would consent that a Spanish prince should come to complete the happiness of the Argentines.<sup>41</sup>

*castellano por el general Torrijos, amigo de ambos.* A second edition of the Spanish version was published in 1918 by the Editorial-América, Madrid. The reference given above is to this edition, although the passage, as it appears here, was taken from the original English text, volume I, page 83.—THE EDITOR.)

What was admirable in Belgrano was his uprightness, patriotism, unselfishness, frankness and the unimpeachable nobility of his character. His proposal to the congress, in 1816, that an Inca of Perú be crowned as king of Argentina arouses mirth; and we are shocked by his scheme presented to the court of Spain, subscribed to jointly with Rivadavia, of subjecting the country to a Spanish king; but, for all this—as his mistakes sprang from his mind and never from his heart—it is necessary to go forward as far as Marshal Sucre to find in the American revolution a man of so great abnegation and moral loftiness. All we Americans ought to pay a tribute of respect to this exemplary man, a pattern of good citizenship.

<sup>41</sup>See the documents in Carlos Calvo's: *Anales de la revolución de la América latina*, volume II, pages 289, 291, edition of Paris, 1864.

On May 25, 1812, Alvear and San Martín reached Buenos Aires from Europe, and by October 8, making use of the forces the government had placed in their hands, they started a revolution against that government, deposed the triumvirate and compelled, through their influence, the appointment of a new triumvirate.<sup>42</sup>

The Argentine revolution did not show, in the majority of its authors, either a representative character or even the frank character of a revolution, in the sense that the country should legally assume the national sovereignty in fact. On January 31, 1813, a congress, which elected Alvear president, opened its sessions: the congress did not dare to make a declaration of independence. General Belgrano, whose army lacked a flag, hoisted the blue and white flag: the Argentine banner. The government denied the propriety of possessing a national flag, and it disavowed the act of Belgrano, instructing him to raise again the red and yellow flag of the conquerors, and to this end it sent him a Spanish flag. Almost all the Argentine revolutionaries applauded the action of the government.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup>For these first occurrences of the Argentine revolution, see Gervasio Antonio Posadas: *Memorias*, pages 4-21.—In 1821 Posadas edited his *Memorias*, and at that time he wrote the following: "The revolution goes on, as you see, without order, without method, without well constituted authority, without a good and solid administration of justice, without legislation and without any sort of foundation."—Page 91.

<sup>43</sup>The government of Buenos Aires sent a despatch to Belgrano worded: "The present situation, according to the nature and as the consequence of the principles to which we are bound, exacts on our part, in affairs of the first importance for the state, that we conduct ourselves with the greatest circumspection and wisdom; therefore the demonstrations with which your excellency inflamed the troops of your command, that is, by hoisting the white and blue flag as an indication that it ought to be our future device, this government believes to be an influence capable of destroying the foundations with which are justified our operations and the protests we have formulated with so much insistence and which in our foreign communications constitute the principal political maxims we have adopted. Mindful of this and of everything else that occurs to us in this grave affair, this government has ordered that your excellency—subjecting his ideas to the views that determine the rules by which he governs his conduct—shall cause the occurrence of the hoisting of the white and blue banner to pass as a display of enthusiasm, by *bidding it secretly and replacing it by the one that is being sent him*, which is the one that hitherto has been used upon this fort and which forms the center of the state."



Before the year 1813 ended, it was believed necessary to change the government again. The executive triumvirate was replaced by a supreme director of the United Provinces; and in January, 1814, there was chosen for the office an uncle of Alvear's, don Gervasio Antonio Posadas, aided by nine counselors.<sup>44</sup>

Alvear, behind the scenes, was the one who governed and inspired the government. Rivalry sprang up between him and San Martín. The victory of Alvear, although ephemeral, irritated San Martín, who could be understood, and was superior to, his rival. Besides the clash of ambitions, the petulance of the one suited ill with the gravity of the other. There was between them a psychological incompatibility rather than an official rivalry. San Martín resolved to ask of the government of Buenos Aires a modest and distant employment: the intendency of Cuyo.<sup>45</sup> He asked, alleging reasons of health, but with the idea of forming there, in that retirement, as he did form, an army, that is, a relatively powerful instrument of domination and war with which to assert himself and to carry on his patriotic work.<sup>46</sup>

Alvear, for the moment, acquired more weight than San Martín in the lodge and in Argentine politics; then he crowned with laurels the taking of Montevideo. There he encountered Artigas, the epic leader of Uruguay.

Not only was Artigas one of the most heroic gauchos on either side of the Plata, but he had the most lionine claw and the

greatest authority of leadership. He desired for his Uruguayan patria freedom from Spain and also freedom from Buenos Aires. He was, besides, a democrat, a republican. He had a double reason therefore for cherishing an enmity to the death, such as he cherished, toward the oligarchical and monarchical government of imperialistic Buenos Aires.

Buenos Aires, in reconquering Montevideo, left there as ruler the Argentine general, Soler, who was not to bear, without giving way, the blows of Artigas. "Artigas waged against this general so active a warfare," wrote a contemporary, "that he obliged him to evacuate the place, of which he took possession immediately."<sup>47</sup> The duel to the death was begun between the city and the chieftain, between Buenos Aires and Artigas.

The madness, not to say anything else, of Posadas and of the government which shortly afterward succeeded him, in declaring Artigas a deserter and setting a price upon his head, produced an everlasting hatred, and as a consequence rendered useless all the efforts made after that time to bring Artigas to submit to the government of Buenos Aires.<sup>48</sup>

The government of Posadas lasted but a short time. It fell at the end of a year (January 6, 1815).

Alvear assumed power. President of the Lautaro lodge, president of the legislative assembly, stormer of Montevideo, arbiter of the government in the time of Posadas, then chief of the state, that youth, who was not yet twenty-seven years old, a son of one of the principal families of the country, talkative, fatuous, intelligent, brave, of fine presence, with immense ambition and restlessness, was then the most brilliant of the Argentine warriors and personages. Possessed of the government, he resolved to deprive San Martín of the intendency of Cuyo; but San Martín, now strong in his province, rose against the mandate and drove out of Cuyo, crestfallen and accompanied with hearty threats, the commissioner of the government.

—Calvo: *Anales*, volume II, pages 27-29. Mitre, in commenting upon this document, so curious, both because of its spirit and its wording, and in which are revealed the thought and pen of Rivadavia, says that the severe reproval of Belgrano by the government "was merited, according to the judgment of his contemporaries"—*Historia de Belgrano*, volume II, page 37.

<sup>44</sup>See the *Memorias* of Posadas.—Regarding the period of his government, in association with two colleagues, Posadas says: "The state had no respectable force or energy or money, without which elements it is impossible to govern. . . . Thus separated, as we three went together through the streets, (*the triumvirs, chiefs of the state*) we received insults a plenty and neglect."—Page 22.

<sup>45</sup>See INTER-AMERICA for August, 1918, page 336, note 10.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>46</sup>"Don José de San Martín," says Posadas, "had requested of me (*the position of intendant in Cuyo*) for the recovery of his health."—Page 41.

<sup>47</sup>*Memorias del general Miller*, volume I, page 109, Spanish translation by General Torrijos, edition of Editorial-América, Madrid, 1918.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, volume I, page 109.

The government of Alvear lasted only three months (January-April, 1815).

The army of General Rondeau, of which Alvear set forth to take charge, refused, with Rondeau at its head, to receive and to obey him, in spite of Alvear's being the head of the state. Strictly speaking, it is a grave error to talk of the head of the state in the Argentina of that time: there was no such state. Anarchy was the sole reigning mistress, and the head of the state was only, at times, the ruler of Buenos Aires, and at most, of Buenos Aires and her province.

Not always did the leaders of the army obey the government, as we have seen in the cases of Rondeau and San Martín. At other times the military leaders betrayed the government: Alvear sent, for example, against Artigas, at the head of a troop, Colonel Álvarez Thomas, and this commander, by agreement with three leaders of more respectable forces, Rondeau, San Martín and Artigas himself, pronounced against the government that appointed him and demanded that this government fall. San Martín avenged himself upon his rival; Artigas, upon Buenos Aires. Alvear had to take refuge on board an English frigate and flee to Rio de Janeiro (April, 1815).<sup>49</sup>

General Rondeau, the leader of the army, was elected supreme director, and, as his assistant in the government, Colonel Álvarez Thomas, the chief who had betrayed Alvear. Rondeau, defeated at Viluma (November 28, 1815,) by the Peruvian troops sent by the viceroy, lost his army and his prestige. Belgrano was appointed to replace him at the head of the troops: a mutiny of the subalterns deposed Belgrano and made him prisoner.

As to Álvarez Thomas, he did not remain long in his position as supreme director *ad interim*: he was not replaced by Rondeau, incapacitated by defeat; he was re-

placed violently by a "provisional" supreme director—as if all the supreme governors had not been provisional—General González Balcarce. In turn, González Balcarce fell—faithful to his title of "provisional," he passed like a flash of lightning.

Those who passed swiftly, like a horse in flight, were the chiefs, at least in name, of the country: supreme directors, whose supremacy was ephemeral and not more extended in space than in time.

The struggle between Buenos Aires and the provinces continued without truce. It was, at one and the same time, a struggle of political and economic interests. In what did centralism consist for men of the Rivadavia type? "*According to Rivadavia, the capital of a nation was this: an oligarchy dominated by him, and the keys of the custom-house in his pocket.*"<sup>50</sup>

The disunion (*between Buenos Aires and the provinces*) was the work of cultivated men, who anticipated the leaders in separatism. It was the work of governments called national, as much as of the leaders.

The *civilization* of Buenos Aires was as hostile to unity as Artigas himself, the *patriarch of anarchy*. The most civilized center of the country, the metropolis of its power, the traditional residence of its national government, as Lamas says, had the same incapacity as in any other city; and its province, the same incapacity as any other province for bestowing a government upon the nation.<sup>51</sup>

The provinces proclaimed *de facto* the federation against the absorptive, economic, political and military centralism of Buenos Aires, with a peculiarity: that in this Argentine case, federating was not equivalent to uniting; it was equivalent to divorcing. Each province had a leader, and it did not recognize as a leader any one except him, and he, in turn, did not recognize the central government. In reality, Güemes, in Salta, was independent of Buenos Aires, as San Martín was, in Cuyo. Córdoba, Santiago, Catamarca and La Rioja did not obey any except their respec-

<sup>49</sup>The Argentine historian, V. F. López, paints Álvarez Thomas as a personage ridiculous in the extreme. "He did not have," he says, "the ability to use the power that he had usurped. . . . His voice was a treble . . . womanly, without being effeminate. This had served as a pretext for them to apply to him a very appropriate nickname, but extremely unfavorable, by which he was known throughout the army, and it was the most unmilitary that could be imagined."

<sup>50</sup>Carlos Pereyra: *El pensamiento político de Alberdi*, pages 131, 132, edition of Editorial America, Madrid. When it was thought, later, of unifying the national interests, after the dissolution of the state in 1820, even yet, says Pereyra, "the union of Rivadavia included the insane purpose of oppressing and annulling." Page 129.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pages 123-124.



tive leaders. The most notable of these men, as a general and man of enlightenment, was San Martín; the most notable as a chief, José Artigas, who was not only recognized as the ruler of his people of Uruguay, but it was he who united under his authority, as a man in pursuit, several subordinate chiefs; and thus he became the leader of Uruguay, Entre Ríos, Corrientes and Santa Fe. Nevertheless, the day was not to be long postponed when one of these subaltern chiefs, Ramírez, would refuse to recognize him and turn against him; for chaos reigned. Minute spheres of action trenched upon each other. Not yet had appeared the superior man who could unite wills and control multitudes: the creator of ideals, the constructor, the Carlylean hero, the superman of Nietzsche. The hydra lifted a hundred heads. Hercules did not appear upon the horizon. Civil war, and spontaneous anarchy, were becoming a normal state.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup>The Argentine publicist, don Francisco Ramos Mejía, studying in 1887 the political evolution of his country, sets forth, with the greatest accuracy, the following: "At last we have reached the completion of the program of our revolution by organizing ourselves according to our organic predisposition under the federal system; but it has cost us half a century of hatred, calamities and fruitless efforts; half a century of desolation and ruin, which we might have avoided, if the man of 1862 had appeared fifty years earlier. *Sed ita, diis placuit.* The Argentine republic had changed little in aptitudes and resources between 1810-1820 and 1862, and if this period was able to effect a federal organization, however bad, it might well have done so in the former period, if there had appeared a man equal to the occasion, who, mastering the situation by his prestige and his political talents, would have reduced the discordant elements to a common formula, more or less organic.

"The man, however, did not appear, and none of our politicians was equal to the occasion, or had the necessary prestige, or understood the intimate nature of that movement which filled them with such horror. Rivadavia, the politician of the revolution, Moreno being dead, was, as Doctor López says, of a temperament eminently monarchical; he could not shake off the preoccupation of his spirit, and when he became convinced of the impossibility of setting up an Argentine monarchy, he did not conceive of any other form of government than that of the most concentrated unitarism. The only man who, because of his prestige, would have been able to organize the republic was San Martín. His political ideas, however, which suffered from the same defect as those of Rivadavia, had rendered him equally sterile in the enterprise; if less preoccupied with his dominant idea, he would have taken better care of the political organization of his country."—Francisco Ramos Mejía: *El federalismo argentino*, pages 325-326, edition of Buenos Aires, 1915.

## IV

## ARGENTINE ANARCHY: THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE STATE

On March 24, 1816, there met in Tucumán a congress,<sup>53</sup> called together by that transitory Colonel Álvarez Thomas of the *pronunciamiento* against Alvear, upon whom his colleagues of the *pronunciamiento* forced this convocation. The government of Álvarez Thomas was feeble, because it did not draw strength or inspiration from itself. His own accomplices of the cabal against Alvear were loath to give him their hearty support.

Salta, by the mouth of Güemes; and Mendoza, through no less an influence than that of San Martín and in spite of his revolutionary complicity, interposed disturbing objections to recognizing the new régime.<sup>54</sup>

It was natural that San Martín should believe that, in his hands or in those of any one else, the government of the country was better off.

This congress, which was summoned by the new director, Álvarez (Thomas), and whose deputies were elected in some provinces—as in Salta, for example—to the cry of "Death to the *porteños*,"<sup>55</sup> was the congress that proclaimed independence. So little faith, however, had certain Argentine politicians in independence and in the republic—that is, anarchy prevailed to such an extent in ideas and action—that this same congress which declared independence was inclined, with the exception of the deputy Oro—a clergyman—to the monarchical formula.<sup>56</sup> They ever favored

<sup>53</sup>See INTER-AMERICA for October, 1917, page 14, article entitled: "The Congress of Tucumán."—THE EDITOR.

<sup>54</sup>*Documentos para la historia argentina*, volume VIII, introduction by Carlos Correa Luna, page L, edition of Buenos Aires, 1917.

<sup>55</sup>Inhabitants of the port, that is, the Bonaerensians.—THE EDITOR.

<sup>56</sup>"I have not come here," exclaimed the deputy Oro, "to saddle upon the people the yoke of another sovereign; I desire a people wholly free." Another deputy, Anchorena, a man of fixed ideas, was not a monarchist, either, although without Oro's decidedness. See the minutes of the session of July 6, 1816, in *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador*, volume V, pages 458-460, Caracas, 1876.

schemes with the Spanish throne, so destructive of liberty.<sup>57</sup>

Besides, this congress learned, without protest, that the politicians of Buenos Aires, by means of the diplomatic agent in Rio de Janeiro, the señor García, provoked and accepted the invasion of Uruguay by Brazil, because it hated Artigas and preferred that Brazil should take possession of Uruguay rather than that Uruguay should be freed of Spain and Buenos Aires by Artigas.<sup>58</sup> Finally, this congress elected as supreme director, Pueyrredón, who, after laborious negotiations with Brazil for securing a Braganza, was to try, in harmony with San Martín and other patriots, to deliver the United Provinces of the Plata to the Duc d'Orléans.

Were the people of Argentina monarchi-

<sup>57</sup>"The congress of Tucumán, which declared independence, the ninth of that month (July, 1816), was to surpass García, since it was to go the extreme of a plain and simple return to submission to Spain."—Zorrilla de San Martín, *op. cit.*, volume I, page 47.

<sup>58</sup>The Bonaerensian government was not content with favoring the invasion by Brazil of a former province of the old viceroyalty of the Plata for the reason that Buenos Aires could not subdue it. It went further: it sent its armies against Artigas, who was fighting with Brazil for the independence of his country. "The Buenos Ayreans (*sic*)," remarks Miller, "not satisfied with remaining passive spectators of the contest between the Brazilians and Artigas, sent two expeditions against the latter, and which Artigas defeated or destroyed."—*Memorias*, volume I, page 111.

(We have taken this quotation from the original English of the *Memoirs*, volume I, page 81.—THE EDITOR.)

From the days of Posadas, the government of Buenos Aires, by decree, declared Artigas a traitor, and set a price upon his head:

"1. Don José Artigas is declared infamous, deprived of his office, beyond the law and an enemy to the country.

"2. It is the duty of all people and of the authorities, military commanders and citizens of the United Provinces to pursue the traitor by all possible means. Whatever aid may be given him voluntarily will be considered an act of high treason. Any one who delivers the person of don José Artigas, dead or alive, will receive a recompense of six thousand pesos."

So, the duel being opened between the republican leader of the Plata, who fought to establish a new nation, and the oligarchs of Buenos Aires, it merely increased day by day, and it was one of the chief sources of anarchy. The terrible Oriental (Uruguayan) leader was to hold in check Buenos Aires, whose representatives went to the extreme of trying to place themselves under the Spanish government, thus betraying the basic thought of the revolution: independence; although Artigas would not be able definitely to use his power in the Rioplatensian provinces of the littoral. He, nevertheless, laid the foundation of a state by awakening the sentiment of nationality.

cal, however? No; the monarchistic rulers wrought contrary to the will of the country and they ever feared it. So we see how the head of the department of foreign relations, Tagle, the counselor and minister of Álvarez Thomas, Balcarce and Pueyrredón, wrote (1816) to his confidant, don Manuel J. García, the diplomatic representative of the government of Buenos Aires in Rio de Janeiro:

Everything threatens general dissolution; and the worst of it is that the people, who now look upon us and treat us as their greatest enemy, can, if we do not take care, reduce us to impotency in adjusting and concluding treaties.

When Álvarez Thomas, upon entering power, asked of García information about the latter's efforts in Rio de Janeiro to place Argentina under a protectorate to England, García, afraid, wrote him, August 15, 1815:

Perhaps it would be harmful to the public interests to give information, which indiscretion might spread abroad or to which malice might attach the taint of crime.<sup>59</sup>

The day, which the minister, Tagle, beheld with well justified suspicion, the day for not hatching up treasonable projects, in the shadow of the chancelleries, behind the backs of the people, was to arrive soon. Artigas, at the head of the littoral regions, was about to put the government of Buenos Aires in check. All the provinces were to rise against the imperialistic city, with her plans destructive of liberty; they were to shake off her yoke, reject her laws, overthrow her arms and end by forcing upon the country one of their most barbarous and ferocious representatives.

What was to occur in the provinces of the Plata was not new in history or extraordinary, but, rather, common and normal. A law of societies was to be fulfilled there: in unleashing anarchy, the despot, who was to react against it and impose his rule, would succeed to power. The anarchists, inapt in the exercise of freedom, were to open and pave the way for the advent of the tyrant.

Before the unifying tyrant should arrive, chaos would reign. The blood of civil war was to be the only kind that would saturate battle-fields, because the war against the

<sup>59</sup>Calvo: *op. cit.*, *Documentos relativos al proyecto de don Carlos Alvear*, volume II, page 258.



royalists would cease long before. Anarchy was becoming chronic. Neither Güemes, in Salta; nor Bustos, in Córdoba; nor San Martín, in Cuyo;<sup>60</sup> nor Artigas, in the Banda Oriental (Uruguay); nor López, in Santa Fe; nor Ramírez, in Entre Ríos; nor Posadas, nor Alvear, nor Álvarez Thomas, nor Balcarce, nor Pueyrredón, in Buenos Aires, would have sufficient

prestige or sufficient strength to rule the entire country.

The years passed, and what appeared impossible happened: that anarchy became worse. The leader of multitudes, the director of consciences, the creator of ideals, the benevolent dominator, nowhere arose.<sup>61</sup>

On February 25, 1819, a constituent congress was inaugurated, because it was deemed necessary to effect an organization different from the one that existed. The work of the congress, however, was to be the finishing touch. Never was there dictated a statute, in behalf of an oligarchy, with more disregard and contempt for social realities. That absurd constitution was the final stroke needed to kindle civil war with unwonted fire.<sup>62</sup>

The congress formulated its constitution, which was promulgated on April 22. The provinces immediately rose in arms against it. The greater part of the army, in turn, revolted. Pueyrredón, the supreme director—who was called a Frenchman, because he was the son of a French merchant of Buenos Aires—resigned. Rondeau assumed charge of the supreme power, and he set out to put down the insurrection. The chiefs, López, of Santa Fe, and Ramí-

<sup>60</sup>San Martín was not federalistic, as the chiefs were, but a governor appointed by the central government. Far superior to the local chiefs—established in dignity by feudal right, or rather, by being the bravest males of the tribe, which were, nevertheless, the unconscious saviors of Argentine democracy from San Martín himself and the oligarchs and monarchists of Buenos Aires—San Martín did not and could not have the political passions or love for the lesser patria that they had. Absent in Europe from the age of eight, the son of a Spaniard, and educated in Spain, where he also began his career, he knew nothing of America until she began her revolution. His patriotism was a lofty sentiment, far above the spirit and political and economic needs of a locality, and it may be called, like the patriotism of Bolívar, Sucre and Miranda, an American patriotism, a continental patriotism. Bolívar did not overlook either localist sentiments or interests, but he bent them to his service, making them contribute with apt political sagacity to the triumph of independence. In San Martín, this form of patriotism without local attachment, without geographical demarcation, which in Bolívar and Sucre was the moral effort of superior men, had perhaps less difficulty in manifesting itself than in the two heroes of the north; because Bolívar, for example, adored Caracas, where he had passed his childhood and the delightful days of his youth, and he covered it with glory in his first victories. Sucre loved Venezuela deeply: his letters prove it. The presents of gold and precious stones offered him by the gratitude of Perú and Bolivia to whom did he send them in homage? To the municipalities of his country. Miranda and San Martín, who were sent abroad very young and whose careers were made in Europe, had less sentimental attachment. Both possessed an American feeling, rather than a feeling of nationality. Neither of them left evidences of understanding patriotic sentiment as we understand it now, which, it should be said at once, proves a superiority that it is well to acknowledge, especially when the fact seems not to have been properly appreciated, even if it has been observed. Born in the territory of the Uruguayan missions, San Martín was no more Uruguayan or Argentine than Chilean or Peruvian. In Uruguay, he played no part; in Argentina, his political and historical patria, he figured less than in Chile, where he fought his great battles, or in Perú, where he was the head of the state. He was not, besides, a sentimentalist, but a stoic; and the patriotism of the lesser patria or the narrow localism of a Rivadavia, a Santander or a Páez could not be understood by his great American heart. On this account and because his interests—which consisted in fighting for the independence of America, everywhere—were not parallel with the interests or affections of local chiefs, San Martín disobeyed the central government only when the central government was opposed to him; when it was not, as was the case while Pueyrredón governed, he had a perfect understanding with the centralists.

<sup>61</sup>Others had already observed it before. Referring to the congress of 1816, which declared independence, an historian says: "The congress of Tucumán was a new attempt of the oligarchy of Buenos Aires to form some kind of nucleus with authority, for the want of a thinking hero, the *rex* of Carlyle, who had not arisen."—Zorrilla de San Martín, *op. cit.*, volume I, page 18.—He says further on: "... nor did then appear in the semi-court of Buenos Aires a man capable of adapting himself to realities."—*Op. cit.*, volume I, page 29.

<sup>62</sup>"The constitution that the directorate of Pueyrredón bequeathed as an inheritance to its successors, instead of being a bond of union, was a new banner of discord, which was raised upon the field of principles and in the realm of events. The work of well-meaning sophists who dreamed of monarchy, not being able to fuse in their conventional molds the refractory social elements, they thought to eliminate them by not taking them into account, and hence their inefficiency. The sketch of a rudimentary centralism, without organs appropriate to its functioning in the presence of the formless mass of an elementary and anarchical federalism, which was a negation of the ideal and a disregard of the model, they did not satisfy either the theoretical or the practical requirements, and hence it was opposed to the facts, without satisfying consciences. Lacking substantial power to uphold it and moral force to foster it, it was a formula void of meaning, which did not contain the germs of either a present or a future life."—Mitre: *Belgrano*, volume IV, page 36.

rez, of Entre Ríos, defeated him at Cepeda. The triumphant federalists dissolved the congress (February 11, 1822).

The constitution of 1819 was abolished. There was no longer a supreme director of the country, even in name. Buenos Aires was reduced to the condition of a province, like the other provinces, without its government's being, as before, the central government of the nation. The provinces, disunited, declared themselves independent states. The chiefs were victorious in their respective localities only, and anarchy stalked through the entire country. The nation, when the ties that bound it together were broken, did not exist. National unity had disappeared.

Where were the United Provinces? They were a dispersed fagot of geographical sections, without a constitution, without a flag,<sup>63</sup> without an army and without national character or government.<sup>64</sup>

In the ancient capital of the nation, now the capital exclusively of the province of Buenos Aires, don Manuel Sarratea was elected governor, under pressure of the

<sup>63</sup>"Artigas added to the Argentine flag a diagonal red stripe."—D. F. Sarmiento: *Facundo*, page 159, edition of Editorial-América.—Quiroga, celebrated later as a chief in La Rioja, "raised in Tala a flag that was not Argentine: it was a black cloth with a skull and cross-bones in the center."—*Op. cit.*, page 156.—Time went by and the white and blue flag of Belgrano—created and raised by him in the struggle for independence against the will of the central government, which caused it to disappear, as if the Argentine people were not striving courageously to constitute itself into a free and sovereign state—did not again recover its prestige. The white and blue banner, the banner of Belgrano, was to continue to be the national flag. Nevertheless, even in the time of Rosas, its day was postponed: "In the bosom of the republic, from the depths of her being, springs the red color, and it becomes the garb of the soldier, the banner of the army and, finally, the national cockade, which, under pain of death, every Argentine must wear."—*Op. cit.*, page 157.

<sup>64</sup>"At the beginning of the year 1820, the government and the political association of the United Provinces of the Plata were in complete dissolution. Ardent passions, pride over past victories, confidence of success and even the consciousness of instinctive reason, were on the side of the coalition of the littoral. Hatred, indifference or contempt toward the central government were the only sentiments that stirred the provinces of the interior. The armies that must uphold the central authority were demoralized, both in the interior and along the coast, and the national government itself, without a policy, without backbone and without aspirations, marched without a course in the midst of the darkness. In the very center of Buenos Aires existed a party that sympathized with the federal cause of the chiefs of the littoral and with anarchy throughout the republic."—Mitre: *Belgrano*: volume IV, page 58-63.

troops victorious at Cepeda: ten days later General Manuel Balcarce overthrew him and occupied his position. The chief Ramírez, assisted by the Chilean José Miguel Carrera, in turn, expelled Balcarce.<sup>65</sup>

There began a period of anarchy characterized by the preponderance of the provincial leaders and the entire disintegration of the national unity, replaced by compacts, more or less durable, between the governors. The government of Buenos Aires, confined now to the capital of the province, passed from one pair of hands to another with rapidity; General Alvear himself, who had returned from exile, was able to cherish for some hours the hope of recovering possession of it, and he camped in the suburbs of the city; but, deceived by Sarratea, he found it necessary to flee. Soler, Balcarce, Pagola, Dorrego, Aguirre, Ramos Mejía and several others were governors for weeks or days, and in a single day there were three governors. Sometimes the instructions of the *cabildo* were obeyed and at others despised, and the principle of authority had reached the lowest depths.<sup>66</sup>

The period of decomposition reached its bitterest moment in 1820.

In that flourishing year of Argentine anarchy, disorder swept over everything, and, as has been seen, all appearance of a national organic body vanished.

Every sort of legal authority disappeared. No coherent institution remained standing, no principle of public law survived, in the midst of that shipwreck.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup>"Buenos Aires recognized the law of the strongest, and Carrera had accomplished his designs: the new government could do no less than bow to him, because to him it owed a great part of its elevation. Throughout the whole campaign, the name of the Chilean chief had appeared little in the official documents, but much in counsels and private conferences. The two leaders of the crusade against the metropolis: the governor of Entre Ríos, Ramírez, and the governor of Santa Fe, don Estanislao López, were rude and ignorant men who had worked under the inspiration of Carrera. . . . The two generals mentioned were intrepid and valiant, but they had received impulse and guidance from another head. The diplomatic agent of Chile in the Argentine provinces, don Miguel Zañartu, who had grounds for knowing, also believed thus. In a private letter, written to O'Higgins at about that time, he said to him that Carrera 'is the soul of all these movements,' and that the federal soldiers called him 'fine cloth,' an expression that betokens the great ascendancy which this chief exercised over the army, whose uniforms were *windfalls*."—M. L. Amunátegui and B. Vicuña Mackenna: *La dictadura de O'Higgins*, Santiago, Chile, 1863, pages 268-269.

<sup>66</sup>E. Vera y González: *Elementos de historia contemporánea de América*, pages 274-275, edition of Buenos Aires, 1909.

<sup>67</sup>Mitre: *Belgrano*, volume IV, page 135.





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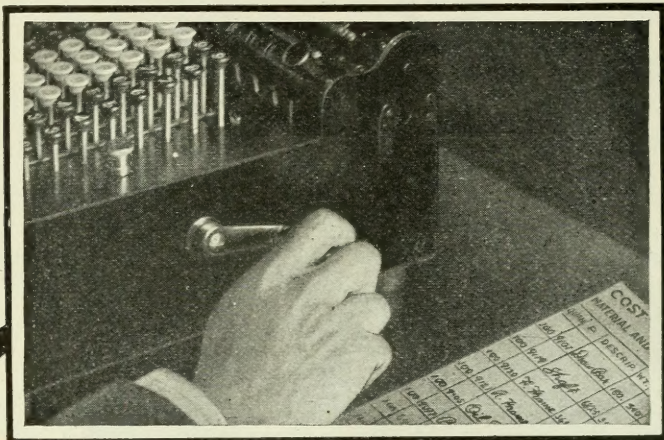
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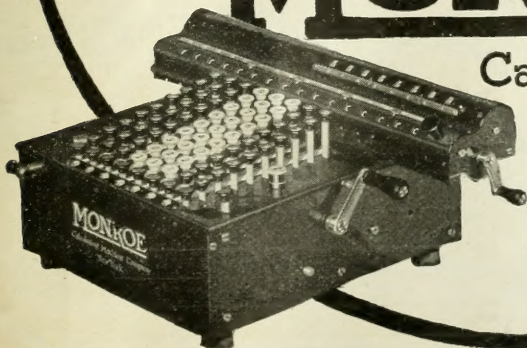
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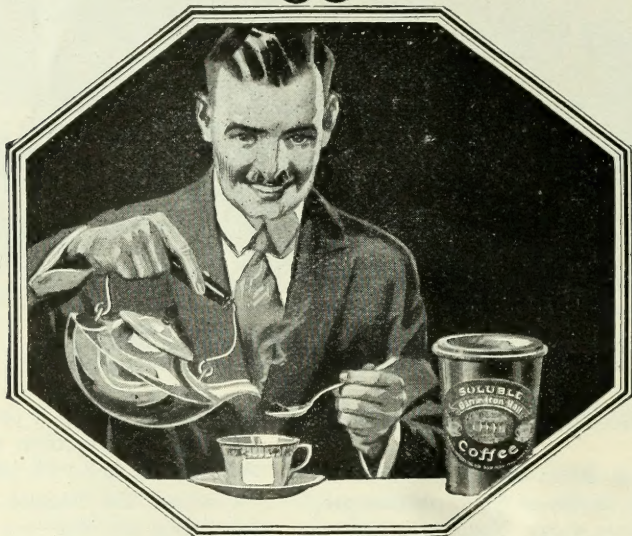
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